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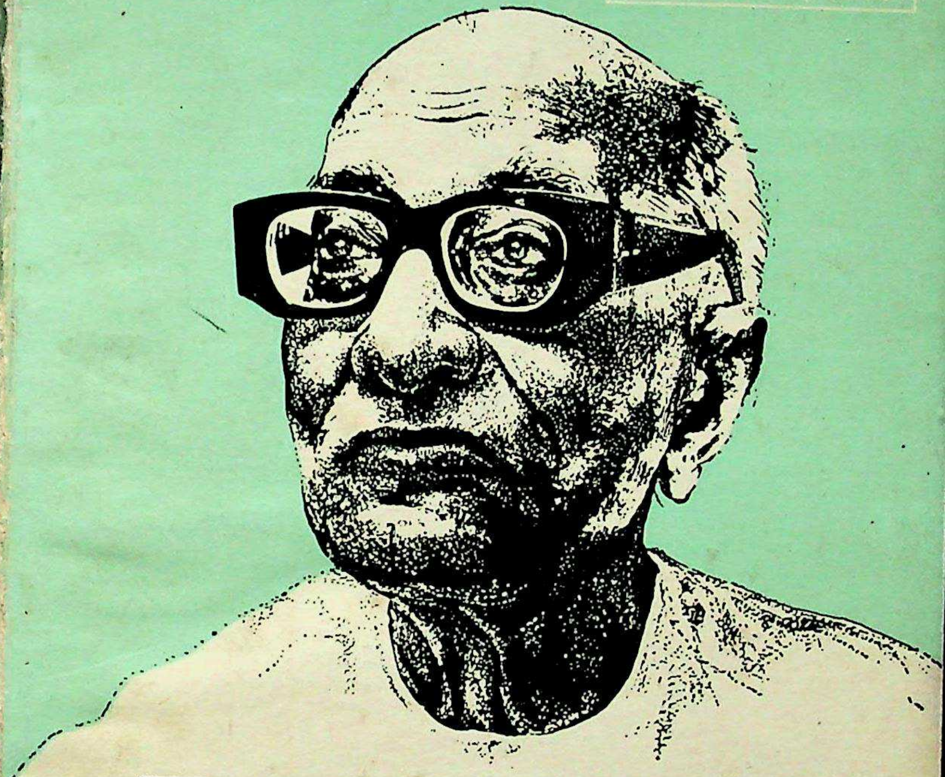
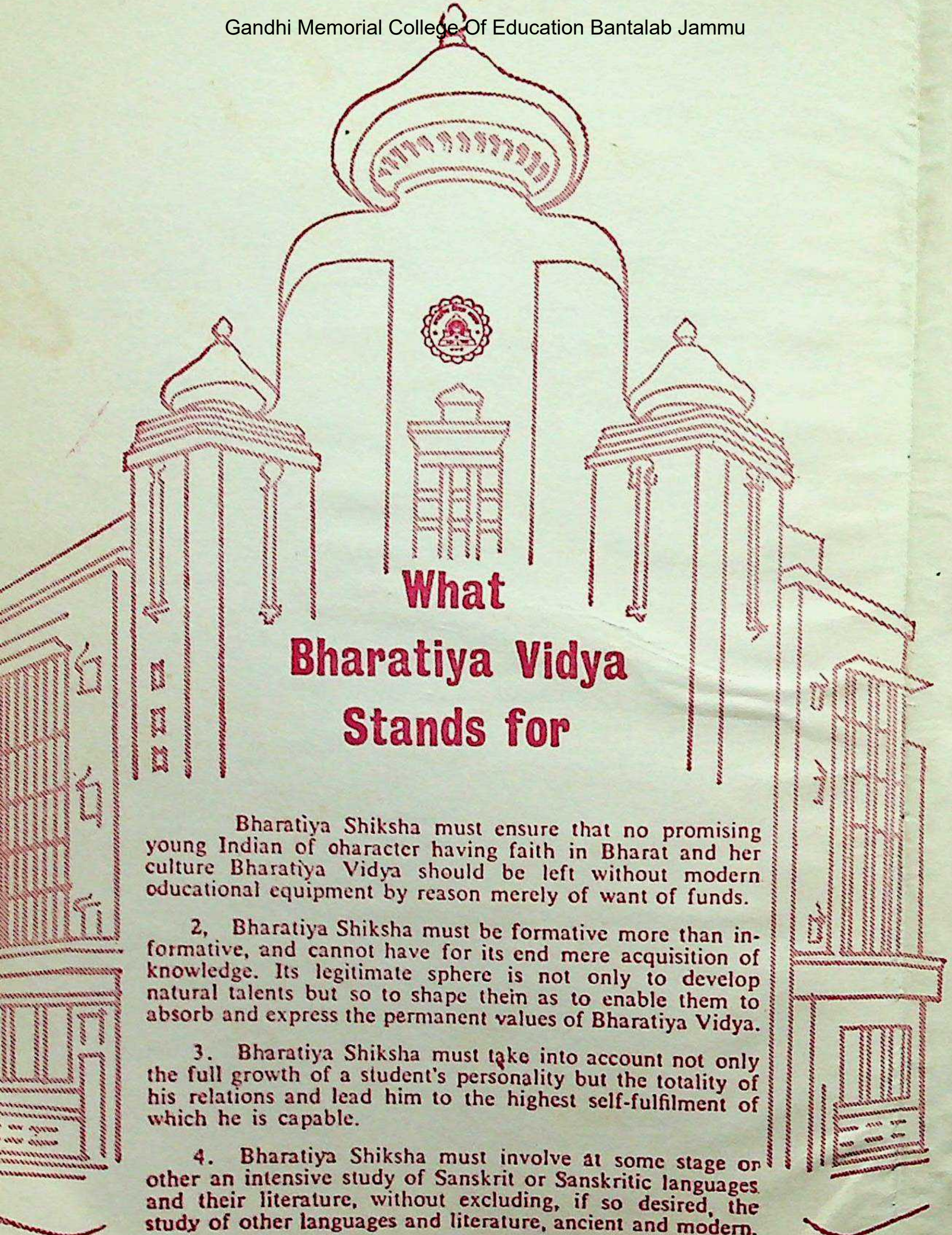
Rajaji Centenary Edition



Rajaji's Speeches

Volume I

BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN, BOMBAY-400 007



What Bharatiya Vidya Stands for

Bharatiya Shiksha must ensure that no promising young Indian of character having faith in Bharat and her culture Bharatiya Vidya should be left without modern educational equipment by reason merely of want of funds.

2, Bharatiya Shiksha must be formative more than informative, and cannot have for its end mere acquisition of knowledge. Its legitimate sphere is not only to develop natural talents but so to shape them as to enable them to absorb and express the permanent values of Bharatiya Vidya.

3. Bharatiya Shiksha must take into account not only the full growth of a student's personality but the totality of his relations and lead him to the highest self-fulfilment of which he is capable.

4. Bharatiya Shiksha must involve at some stage or other an intensive study of Sanskrit or Sanskritic languages and their literature, without excluding, if so desired, the study of other languages and literature, ancient and modern.

5. The re-integration of Bharatiya Vidya, which is the primary object of Bharatiya Shiksha, can only be attained through a study of forces, movements, motives, ideas, forms and art of creative life-energy through which it has expressed itself in different ages as a single continuous process.

6. Bharatiya Shiksha must stimulate the student's power of expression, both written and oral, at every stage in accordance with the highest ideals attained by the great literary masters in the intellectual and moral spheres.

7. The technique of Bharatiya Shiksha must involve—

(a) the adoption by the teacher of the *Guru* attitude which consists in taking a personal interest in the student; inspiring and encouraging him to achieve distinction in his studies; entering into his life with a view to form ideals and remove psychological obstacles; and creating in him a spirit of consecration; and

(b) the adoption by the student of the *Sishya* attitude by the development of—

(i) respect for the teacher,

(ii) a spirit of inquiry,

(iii) a spirit of service towards the teacher, the institution, Bharat and Bharatiya Vidya.

8. The ultimate aim of Bharatiya Shiksha is to teach the younger generation to appreciate and live up to the permanent values of Bharatiya Vidya which is flowing from the supreme art of creative life-energy as represented by Shri Ramachandra, Shri Krishna, Vyasa, Buddha and Mahavira have expressed themselves in modern times in the life of Shri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, Swami Dayananda Saraswati, and Swami Vivekananda, Shri Aurobindo and Mahatma Gandhi.

9. Bharatiya Shiksha while equipping the student with every kind of scientific and technical training must teach the student, not to sacrifice an ancient form or attitude to an unreasoning passion for change; not to retain a form or attitude which in the light of modern times can be replaced by another form of attitude which is a truer and more effective expression of the spirit of Bharatiya Vidya; and to capture the spirit afresh for each generation to present it to the world.

आ नो भद्राः क्रतवो यन्तु विश्वतः ।

Let noble thoughts come to us from every side.

—Rigveda, I-89-i

BHAVAN'S BOOK UNIVERSITY

General Editors :

R. R. DIWAKAR
S. RAMAKRISHNAN

49

RAJAJI'S SPEECHES

Volume I

BHAVAN'S BOOK UNIVERSITY

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KULAPATI'S PREFACE

The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan—that Institute of Indian Culture in Bombay—needed a Book University, a series of books which, if read, would serve the purpose of providing higher education. Particular emphasis, however, was to be put on such literature as revealed the deeper impulsions of India. As a first step, it was decided to bring out in English 100 books, 50 of which were to be taken in hand almost at once.

It is our intention to publish the books we select, not only in English, but also in the following Indian languages: Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam.

This scheme, involving the publication of 900 volumes, requires ample funds and an all-India organisation. The Bhavan is exerting its utmost to supply them.

The objectives for which the Bhavan stands are the reintegration of the Indian culture in the light of modern knowledge and to suit our present-day needs and the resuscitation of its fundamental values in their pristine vigour.

Let me make our goal more explicit:

We seek the dignity of man, which necessarily implies the creation of social conditions which would allow him freedom to evolve along the lines of his own temperament and capacities; we seek the harmony of individual efforts and social relations, not in any makeshift way, but within the frame-work of the Moral Order; we seek the creative art of life, by the alchemy of which human limitations are progressively transmuted, so that man may become the instrument of God, and is able to see Him in all and all in Him.

The world, we feel, is too much with us. Nothing would uplift or inspire us so much as the beauty and aspiration which such books can teach.

In this series, therefore, the literature of India, ancient and modern, will be published in a form easily accessible to all. Books in other literatures of the world, if they illustrate the principles we stand for, will also be included.

This common pool of literature, it is hoped, will enable the reader, eastern or western, to understand and appreciate currents of world thought, as also the movements of the mind in India, which, though they flow through different linguistic channels, have a common urge and aspiration.

Fittingly, the Book University's first venture is the *Mahabharata*, summarised by one of the greatest living Indians, C. Rajagopalachari; the second work is on a section of it; the Gita by H. V. Divatia, an eminent jurist and a student of philosophy. Centuries ago, it was proclaimed of the *Mahabharata*: "What is not in it, is nowhere". After twenty-five centuries, we can use the same words about it. He who knows it not, knows not the heights and depths of the soul; he misses the trials and tragedy and the beauty and grandeur of life.

The *Mahabharata* is not a mere epic; it is a romance, telling the tale of heroic men and women and of some who were divine; it is a whole literature in itself, containing a code of life, a philosophy of social and ethical relations, and speculative thought on human problems that is hard to rival; but, above all, it has for its core the Gita, which is, as the world is beginning to find out, the noblest of scriptures and the grandest of sagas in which the climax is reached in the wondrous Apocalypse in the Eleventh Canto.

Through such books alone the harmonies underlying true culture, I am convinced, will one day reconcile the disorders of modern life.

I thank all those who have helped to make this new branch of the Bhavan's activity successful.

1, Queen Victoria Road,
New Delhi,
3rd October, 1951

K. M. MUNSHI

FOREWORD

Collections of speeches of persons eminent in various spheres of public life are a mine of information and a source of delight to readers of their generation. They are, however, mostly of ephemeral interest and have an appeal for only a limited class of readers. Soon consigned to bookshelves, they are seldom approached even by that small circle of readers, much less by posterity.

The speeches embodied in these two volumes are, however, of abiding interest and value. Couched in Rajaji's simple, lucid and impressive language, almost all of these discourses, delivered during the first ten years of India's Independence, are illumined by the gifted speaker's store of knowledge, experience and practical wisdom reinforced by lessons drawn by him from the teaching of ancient sages and the cultural heritage of India. That precious heritage has taught the people of our country to regulate their lives in consonance with the eternal principles and ideals for which and by which nations live and flourish. Whatever may be the subject-matter of the discourse, social, religious, educational or political, Rajaji invests it with a philosophical and spiritual significance. It is this combination of the idealism of the rishis with the wisdom of a realist in Rajaji's treatment of ordinary incidents and problems of life that lends a peculiar charm and value to his speeches.

The publication is unique because it records the views, accumulated knowledge, wisdom, judgement and admonition of a personality that is unique. Among the disciples of Gandhiji and his colleagues in the country's struggle for freedom there were few, indeed, who displayed the same unclouded intellect and independent thinking and courage as he did in going counter to the decision of his master when as a realist he considered it imperative to register his protest. It is unnecessary for the purpose of this Foreword to recall the incidents when he stood almost alone in his opposition to the line of action followed by Gandhiji in regard to vital political issues. This is not an occasion for an attempt to judge who was right and who was wrong. The object in singling out this distinguishing trait in Rajaji's character for special notice is to stress its importance to a growing democracy. Unless politicians and the public generally cultivate the habit of thinking for themselves, a democracy is in danger of being converted into an oligarchy.

The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan deserves felicitations on the enrichment of the Bhavan's Book University by the addition of this volume of remarkable speeches on a variety of subjects delivered by one of the greatest thinkers and politicians of our day. May it be given to Rajaji to continue to inspire and uplift the people of our country by his sage advice and guidance for many years as he has done in the past!

8th February, 1958

R. P. MASANI

CONTENTS

Volume I

Chapter Page

Foreword by Sir R. P. Masani .. vii

I. Our Independence 1
West Bengal Assembly, Calcutta, August 15, 1947

II. Significance of the National Flag .. 4
Rotary Club, Calcutta, August 15, 1947

III. The Mahatma's Mission 7
Gandhi Jayanti Celebrations under the auspices of the Central Peace Committee, Calcutta, October 2, 1947

IV. Art and the Charka 12
Gandhi Jayanti Celebrations under the auspices of the Congress Sahitya Sangha, Calcutta, October 2, 1947

V. Medium of Instruction 14
Calcutta University Convocation, October 3, 1947

VI. A Vijaya Dasami Message 17
Maharani Girls' High School, Darjeeling, October 20, 1947

VII. Many Ways to lead to God 21
Id and Puja celebrations, Calcutta, October 30, 1947

VIII. On Trees 24
Tree Planting Ceremony, Government House, Calcutta, October 31, 1947

IX. Civil Strife 26
St. Xavier's College, Calcuta, December 6, 1947

X. Discipline 29
St. Xavier's College, Calcutta,
December 12, 1947

XI. The Army in Free India 31
First Calcutta University Training Corps.
January 2, 1948

XII. Meaning of Swaraj 35
Krishnagar, January 8, 1948

XIII. Gandhiji's Fast 39
Garden Party, Birla Park, New Delhi,
January 14, 1948

XIV. On the Death of Mahatma Gandhi .. 43
Prayer Meeting, New Delhi, February 5, 1948

XV. Our Ajatasatru 47
Broadcast on the Immersion Ceremony of
Gandhiji's ashes, February 12, 1948

XVI. On Music 49
Vani Vidya Vittu, Kalighat, February 22, 1948

XVII. Ayurveda 50
Bangiya Ayurveda Mahasammelan,
February 28, 1948

XVIII. Idleness is Treason 52
Calcutta University Convocation,
March 20, 1948

XIX. National Language 55
Resuscitated Hindi High School, Calcutta,
March 28, 1948

XX. Religion in Education 57
Aligarh University Old Boys' Association,
March 28, 1948

XXI. Nursery Schools 59
J. N. Ray Infant & Nursery School, Calcutta,
April 2, 1948

XXII. The Filter of Time 60
105th Birthday Anniversary of Girish Chandra Ghosh, Calcutta, April 28, 1948

XXIII. Admission to Medical Colleges .. 62
Campbell Medical School, Calcutta, May 6, 1948

XXIV. A Mosaic of Cultures 64
Kalimpong, May 14, 1948

XXV. Farewell to Bengal 68
Darjeeling, May 23, 1948

XXVI. We have crossed the Valley .. 72
Rotary Club, Calcutta, June 1, 1948

XXVII. C. R. Das and Me 76
23rd Death Anniversary of Deshbandhu Das, Calcutta, June 16, 1948

XXVIII. Boxing 79
Bengal Amateur Boxing Federation, Calcutta, June 17, 1948

XXIX. A Parting Appeal 80
Farewell Broadcast to Bengal, June 19, 1948

XXX. Interdependence 81
Government House, New Delhi, June 21, 1948

XXXI. First Year of Freedom 83
Broadcast to the Nation, August 14, 1948

XXXII. My Education 85
Mysore Municipal Council, August 19, 1948

XXXIII. Duties of Students 87
Maharajah's College, Mysore, August 19, 1948

XXXIV. The Head of our State 92
Bangalore Municipal Council, August 20, 1948

XXXV Unity in Diversity 94
Inauguration of Jayanagar and Mysore Riyasat, August 20, 1948

XXXVI. The Art of Loving one another .. 98
Central College Old Boys' Association, Bangalore, August 20, 1948

XXXVII. Freedom an Opportunity 100
Trivandrum Municipal Corporation, August 22, 1948

XXXVIII. Social Service 103
Guild of Service, Madras, August 23, 1948

XXXIX. Message of Mahatma 106
Madras Legislative Council, August 23, 1948

XL. Distinctions and Divisions .. 110
Thakkar Bapa Vidyalaya Hostel, Thyagarayanagar, Madras, August 24, 1948

XLI. The Eagerness of Girls 113
Ethiraj College of Women, Madras, August 24, 1948

XLII. Proving by Death 115
Loyola College, Madras, August 24, 1948

XLIII. Daily Conduct 117
Cosmopolitan Club, Madras, August 24, 1948

XLIV. Multiplicity of Faiths and Languages 120
Madras University Convocation, August 24, 1948

XLV Journalism is Art, not Industry .. 125
Southern India Journalists' Federation, August 26 1948

XLVI. Hard Work and Honesty 128
Laxminarayan Institute of Technology, Nagpur, August 26, 1948

XLVII. To Women 130

Women's Meeting, Nagpur, August 27, 1948

XLVIII. A Goodwill Movement 132

Y. M. C. A. Hostel, Nagpur, August 28, 1948

XLIX. Love and Hatred 134

Reception given by Sardar Sant Singh and Sikhs of Delhi, September 10, 1948

L. Honour the Poet .. 138

Birthday Celebrations of Poet Subramania Bharati, New Delhi, September 11, 1948

LI. Thanksgiving 140

Commemoration of the National Thanksgiving Day at Juma Masjid, September 26, 1948

LII. What Gandhi taught 145

Village Special Workers' Training Centre, Kingsway, Delhi, September 30, 1948

LIII. Our Soldiers 147

The Indian Military Academy, Dehra Dun, October 9, 1948

LIV. At Doon School 151

Founder's Day Celebration, Dehra Dun, October 9, 1948

LV. Body Work . .. 154

Civic Reception by the Government and people of Saurashtra, Rajkot, October 22, 1948

LVI. The Princes 158

Rajkumar College, Rajkot, October 22, 1948

LVII. Swami Dayanand Saraswati 163

Ram Lila Grounds, New Delhi, October 31, 1948

LVIII. The Inspiration for Art 167
Indian Art Exhibition, Government House, New Delhi, November 6, 1948

LIX. Patience 170
Civic Reception, Simla, November 17, 1948

LX. Bangabasi College Diamond Jubilee 174
Royal Exchange, Calcutta, November 29, 1948

LXI Bengal Chamber of Commerce .. 178
Calcutta, November 30, 1948

LXII. Doctor of Law 182
Calcutta University Special Convocation, November 30, 1948

LXIII. Orphans 185
Mazharul-Ulum Orphanage. Banaras, December 1, 1948

LXIV. Our Destiny under Democracy .. 188
Banaras Hindu University Convocation, December 3, 1948

LXV. Religious Tolerance 194
Central Melpilaf Committee, Banaras, December 3, 1948

LXVI. Message of the Gita 196
Gita Jayanti Celebrations, Laxminarayan Temple Grounds, New Delhi, December 12, 1948

LXVII. Children 200
Balkanji Bari, Purdah Gardens. New Delhi. January 1, 1948

LXVIII. Freedom of the Press 202
Bombay Union of Journalists, Taj Mahal Hotel. Bombay. January 9, 1949

LXIX. Citizenship 205
Delhi University Convocation, January 15, 1949

Index 209

I

OUR INDEPENDENCE

THE people of India have been given the untrammelled right to shape their own destiny from to-day onward. Let us on this occasion pay silent homage to all those who have worked for this end through the long years of aspiration, agitation and struggle and who are no longer with us in the flesh to see the fruition of their labours and their sufferings.

Our joy would have been complete if partition had not come as a necessary accompaniment of freedom. But let us hope that the causes that made this unfortunate accompaniment of the status of independence and self-rule necessary, will melt away before long and that the two free States will come together once again into a wise and lasting union.

When the new constitution of India that is being discussed in the Constituent Assembly is brought into force, you will have as the Governor of your Province a man elected by the people themselves. Until then, Government will be carried on under the Government of India Act of 1935, but with the important modification that there will be no matters in which a Governor may act other than on the advice of Ministers responsible to the Legislature.

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As members of the Assembly, you will henceforth have the unrestricted right and duty of shaping the policies of the Government. So long as they retain your confidence, the Prime Minister and his colleagues will bear the full burden and responsibility of the Government of the Province, although I shall always be willing to place my views and experience at their disposal and to help them in every way, as a constitutional Governor.

I have been appointed and I have agreed to serve the people of Bengal in the spirit that is justified in the Gita, although it can be considered foolhardiness on my part so to do. Whatever duty that may happen to be imposed on one, be it pleasant or unpleasant, should be accepted and performed to the best of one's ability. With your help and goodwill I hope to be of some use to you.

Our fight against imperialism and foreign domination is over, but in the work of construction we have an uphill task of very great magnitude. We have to contend against widespread corruption and an insane fratricidal violence. Independence by itself is nothing but an opportunity. It will prove a very great opportunity if we develop a full sense of responsibility and decide to work hard. The rest of the world is watching our efforts with immense expectation, for it has a high opinion of India, her culture, her resources and the character and greatness of her people. Nothing is perfect in this world and the order of things set up immediately on the withdrawal of British power cannot by any means be perfect straightaway.

There are many difficulties which must and can be peacefully removed or remedied. Violence, or the forms of obstruction, non-co-operation, or direct action, to which recourse was justified on the grounds of sheer necessity when we were struggling against foreign rule, are out of place when popular leaders are in charge of our affairs, including the framing and the amending of the constitution itself.

The majority community now has an added responsibility in the safeguarding of all the legitimate interests of the minorities and in creating and maintaining amongst them a sense of complete security and confidence. Recent happenings in the country have no doubt embittered feelings to a degree never before witnessed, but bitterness and blind and unjust violence can help nobody to achieve anything. Even if we get some temporary satisfaction out of brute passions, we, and the generations to come, will have to pay for them most heavily and with compound interest. The wise and good men of all nations have come to the same conclusion after trial and experience, over and over again, namely, that it is necessary to forget and forgive and that the way of violence must be given up if the world is to progress and be happy. Efficient, honest administration, without a lapse into partisan plans, must be our immediate objective, but even before that, if I may say so, law and order must be restored and stabilised at all costs.

May I pray with you that we shall once more enable Bengal to take first place in an India free in all respects. To that end may our energies be directed. If I am to play an humble part in this work I shall have great cause for pride, in this, the evening of my life.

II

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NATIONAL FLAG

THIS national flag I have unfurled today signifies a change in the meaning of everything around us. The police need no longer be regarded as our enemy Every policeman should realise, and you must make him understand, that he is to serve the needs of the people of this country patriotically. It is somewhat difficult, especially for men who have been previously beaten and pushed, to realise straightaway, the friendliness of the police constable. But that is what this flag stands for

This flag is not merely a piece of cloth with pretty colours. It is a revolutionary implement. It must convert people anew. It must convert a barber into a new barber, a carpenter into a new carpenter, a reporter into a better reporter, a newspaper editor into a better newspaper editor who is trying to turn his newspaper into an educative instrument of society.

It is not an accident that the *Chakra* (wheel) appears on our flag. It is a wheel which symbolises what we should do hereafter. It is a wheel which symbolises that we should be doing something actively for the people. It is a symbol of a continual churning in order to produce something. Gandhiji did not incorporate the *Chakra* in the flag to advertise the utility of the *Chakra*, but to represent the continual patriotic industrious habit which he wants you to cultivate. He wants to bring that habit into existence in our country.

What is the greatest evil of our lives? It is laziness and nothing else. Laziness is sometimes called leisure, but whatever you may call it, it is nothing but laziness. What Gandhiji wants is that we should throw away that laziness. It may be due to climate, or to religion, but whatever the cause it is bad. We should no longer be lazy. The wheel in our flag will remind us that we should always churn; that we should always be doing something; that we should be rolling and turning and producing. That is the wheel, the wheel of life. Work is the wheel of life and nothing else.

The shaper of this flag was inspired by the example of one of the greatest men who ever lived, Asoka. Asoka's wheel had a history, a tradition. That wheel was associated with the law, with justice, with uprightness of conduct and with the inner urge which makes a man so free from all external control that he can render service with detachment.

We are a very fortunate people. We in this land possess opportunities which can be claimed by no other people in the world. We are not a small people. We are not a single people. We are mixed; we are large. We have many religions, many colours, many habits and many traditions. We have learnt how to turn this wheel of life for the good of all. You will see by and by the difficulties confronting us and how to overcome those difficulties.

Our destiny is great and that is why we were made free without any trouble. Has there ever been an example of a whole people of 400 millions being made free without war, without corpses lying on a field of battle? We were forced to struggle and make sacrifices, but that is a different story. Look at Japan. Think of the last Great War. Keep that picture before you and you will realise that you have won your freedom without bloodshed.

Look at other events. The partition of the country has taken place without bloodshed. Has any other country been partitioned without a mighty civil war? But India has been divided as if it were in litigation before Mr. Justice Biswas. We have had our troubles, but we do not exaggerate them. We have won freedom at a very small price. Let us thank God. Let us move forward.

III

THE MAHATMA'S MISSION

WE are meeting this morning in worship of the pillar of peace, for, the living soul of Mahatma Gandhi is truly our pillar of peace. God sent him to us seventy-nine years ago to become our pillar, our only sheet-anchor, our true rudder.

When we asked for freedom, God knew we were asking for something difficult. Freedom is easy to ask for but difficult to carry. When we asked for freedom and got it, we agreed to bear a great burden. Other people in the world told us that we were too many sorts of people and that we should not be able to bear the burden of Independence. We answered them by saying that even though we were many sorts of people, we should be able to bear that burden. We thought then that we had the spiritual strength to carry out our resolve. We asked the British to quit India and the British said that if they did we should war among ourselves. Mahatma Gandhi replied that if they went we could keep the peace and maintain our freedom, but we are now being sorely tried.

It is hard to keep the promise we made but we must somehow keep our promise by keeping the peace. This we must do for the sake of the coming generations of men, women and children. Aye, for the sake of

Satya, for the sake of good, we must keep our promise. Otherwise our disgrace will be great and words will not be adequate to describe our shame.

So far the outside world has observed great restraint in commenting upon our disgrace. I wish the outside world *had* pointed out our disgrace to us so that our spirit might have been quickened. When the American people and the British hurl words of shame at us, we should answer them not by words but by deeds.

We have all read Pandit Nehru's speech of the other day. I read that speech also, and not only the words but the grief behind them. It is our bounden duty to save Pandit Nehru from the grief that he has to bear. The way to save him from that grief is not to point the finger of blame at others, but to turn it towards yourselves. The fathers of all religions have told us that there is only one way to save the world and it is this—'Do not find fault with others. Be good yourselves, then all will be right with the world.' We shall not grow better by teaching others but by being good ourselves.

The joy that we knew in New Delhi on the 15th of August is no longer there. New Delhi has been through fire and is now in ruins. Imagine the Taj in ruins. New Delhi in ruins is a far greater calamity than the Taj in ruins. Let us pray with one heart that Mahatmaji may be able to reconstruct the Taj Mahal of joy in Delhi. He has gone there with renewed firmness of purpose to rebuild peace. Let us pray unitedly for his success.

In the old days thousands used to say (yes) to Mahatmaji's words, but the affirmation came, not so much from the heart, as from a feeling of heroworship and the desire to be a great nation. But today it comes from the heart. It comes from the deepest and innermost recesses of the hearts of a people who have suffered much and greatly.

When in the old days they said ("yes",) they said to Gandhiji 'you are our saviour.' This they said without understanding the meaning of what they were saying, but today the picture is very different. When they address Mahatmaji as their saviour now they do so with the full and complete realisation of the meaning of what they say. Grief has purified our hearts and let us hope our hearts, purified by grief, will remain pure.

Our country and our Government have been divided and people think that we may be going to war with one another. I can tell you one great truth—and I have said many truths in my life: no war is possible between India and Pakistan. The Government of India has been divided, but India has not been and cannot be divided. India can only go to war with Pakistan, and Pakistan can only go to war with India, if a man can go to war with his own stomach. War is not a word that can be blazoned forth in headlines. War is a process consisting of many things that cannot happen in either India or Pakistan. War between the two countries is a physical impossibility, but civil strife *is* possible, and is in fact going on. There cannot be war between India and Pakistan, but there can be civil disorder in both India and Pakistan. Civil war is no preparation for war. In fact it makes war impossible, because war requires the organisation of the warring nations' resources, while Civil war disturbs and disorganises all resources. Only the superficial can talk of war between India and Pakistan. Give up the solution of war, please, and let us all deal with the problem of civil strife. Civil war can be avoided if we are just and always vigilant about human feelings.

We now have democracies in both Pakistan and India. Democracy means the rule of the majority, but it also presupposes the responsibility of the majority to inspire complete confidence and security in the minority. It is not coalitions nor mathematical arrangements of electoral seats, but the conscience of the majority that can give peace and security to the minority. The British have gone, but our consciences have still to be quickened and it is only Mahatmaji who can quicken them so as to instil confidence in the minorities in both Pakistan and India; and unless the consciences of the democracies are so quickened, we cannot be happy.

Retaliation can take many subtle forms, all of which must leave not only the shores of India, but the shores of our consciences. It is very difficult to throw retaliation out of our hearts, but we must clench our teeth and pluck it forth with courage and endurance. It is difficult to forget, but unless we do, we shall be unable to save ourselves. The nourishing and the nursing of grievances is the most subtle form of retaliation and forgetting is not easy, but you must forget all that has been done by our enemies. This applies both to Hindus and Muslims.

We are in the tragic state today of being left unmoved by twenty thousand dead bodies though the normal human instinct would be to throw up our hands in horror at a crime or act of treachery. Fools imagine that these murders are a demonstration of our strength. They are not. On the contrary, they are a proof of the fear in our hearts. Killing is the result, not of courage, but of a detestable fear. Let us drive away both fear and the desire for retaliation.

The fathers of our religion gave us compassion, pity and understanding. All these seem to have fled away. In the name of religion we have abandoned compassion and are killing innocent men, women and children. All grace, all compassion, all culture seem to have fled, leaving only overwhelming fear of one another. In this great and terrible depression there is only one lamp left burning as brightly as ever—Mahatmaji as a man and Bengal as a Province.

May Mahatmaji live long and succeed in his mission of love and may Bengal grow from good to better so that she may soon reach the fullness of the glory that is her due! May the celebrations of this birthday of Gandhiji be the turning point in the disease that is in our midst and may Delhi and India recover their full glory and health! May the fear of change and cruelty reach the turning point today and let us all promise to be good and to behave well from this anniversary onwards! Keep your hearts in perfect order.

IV

ART AND THE CHARKA

IT has given me great pleasure to visit this exhibition. I have seen very good pictures that have been drawn and explained by living artists. It is not often that one gets the chance of seeing a picture and also the artist who has drawn it. I have learnt a good deal here this evening. We often offer worship to pictures and idols without understanding them. You have seen Nataraja or Kali-mata dancing. We do not know what it means, though the meaning must be there in any case. It is the most beautiful conception of posture that artists have ever conceived. The image of Nataraja, of which the original is found in a temple in South India, is known all over the world from the work of artists.

To my mind the meaning of the dance is that when God dances, everything happens in the world. The recent events in the Punjab, which we have reason to bemoan, the celebration of a marriage, the loss of a dearly-loved husband, the signing of peace by the big powers—all these happen when God dances in one way or another. So, therefore, if anything unfortunate happens, we should neither weep nor lose heart, but remain courageous and think of it all as God's dance.

Anyone who can produce a good picture is worthy of our respect. Knowing the sacredness of his profession the true artist only produces good pictures. Pictures can do great good and also great harm. Every picture is Saraswati, and obscene pictures are a crime deserving of capital punishment. Our minds are bad enough—we need no assistance from bad pictures to make them worse.

I am very pleased to see spinning-wheels in action Indeed we cannot celebrate any birthday of Gandhiji without the help of spinning. I have seen the widow of a martyr spinning away in a manner which indicated expert knowledge of the craft. In her personal bereavement, which is difficult to forget, spinning must be a great consolation to her. Other people's words of wisdom carry neither conviction nor consolation; it is only our own work that enables us to forget our sorrows.

Talking of spinning leads me to the charka, of which a part, and that the most important, has gone into our national flag. The wheel represents continuous action, uprightness, and justice. It comes to us from the greatest law-giver of India, Asoka. And the Asoka of our time is Gandhiji. This birthday is specially important to all of us who revere Gandhiji, because it marks the achievement of freedom which was his greatest achievement, but the achievement of goodwill and peace and harmony among all men.

V

MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

WE have been told that the die was cast in favour of Bengali twenty-seven years ago. This decision, though taken in 1920 has not yet fully been acted upon and English continues to be the medium of instruction in the University.

The English language sits on our thoughts, even as this academic robe sits upon me. This robe may be beautiful and it may sometimes serve to protect you against the weather, but it is on the whole an inconvenience; in the same way, the English language may be beautiful, but it sits heavily on our thoughts and does not let them grow, or move about freely.

I should like to remind the graduates and the elite assembled here of the very fine argument that has been put forward by the Vice-Chancellor with regard to the foundations of a University. He adjured us not to think architecturally in such matters. He was right. Education does not rest on its foundations like a brickwork structure, but grows like a living tree. The University gives the lead to the High Schools and the High Schools to the Primary Schools, very much like a tree ramifying from the stem upwards to the branches. That is how living things grow and yield. The University is the stem, High Schools are the bigger branches and Primary Schools are their offshoots.

It is also very hard to change an order of things that has prevailed for a long time. For instance, it is not easy for members of the I. C. S. to write administrative notes in Bengali all at once. I am not to be understood, however, as pleading for the 'go-slow' methods of the I. C. S. I am simply urging 'go-fast' methods on the Universities. I want you to adopt your mother tongue as the medium of instruction in the University of this Province. And I urge every University to adopt this formula.

There are to-day about a dozen important languages in India. Larger estimates are occasionally given, mainly in order to frighten us into thinking that India is just a big museum. But indeed even if India were a museum, with all its splendour and its variety, we should regard it as a grand one. Apart from that, the main languages we have in India are just about a dozen. That is to say, (1) Hindi, (2) Urdu, (3) Bengali, (4) Marathi, (5) Gujerati (6) Kanarese, (7) Tamil, (8) Telugu, (9) Malayalam, (10) Assamese, (11) Oriya and let us add English to this list also. Each one of these dozen Indian languages is the mother-tongue of not less than a crore of people —some of them of many crores.

In accordance with what prevails in Europe, each one of these languages is important enough for a separate state and a separate University. Now, therefore, each one of our great big Universities should, instead of all blundering in the same manner, recognise, by agreement or by tacit consent, the mother-tongue of the area as the authoritative medium of University instruction. Accordingly, Banares may have Hindi, Ahmedabad may have Gujarati, Poona may have Marathi, Osmania may have Urdu and Waltair may have Telugu, Annamalai may have Tamil and Bombay and Madras may continue English, if they like.

English can and should be kept as a second language because of its importance in international communication. By all means give English the importance it deserves, but please do not make it the medium of all instruction.

A University is not merely an organisation for the calling of Convocations and the manufacture of graduates. It is the fountain-head of culture and the inspiration for all those whose life-activities are to be guided in a cultured and civilised manner. It was, therefore, not an accident that under the old administration Governors were made ex-officio Chancellors of the various Universities in India. It was recognised that administration was intimately mixed up with education and the Governor was therefore placed at the top of the University as Chancellor *ex-officio*.

Till now, education in India has been no more than a slave's accomplishment. The education that will be imparted in India from now onwards, will be for a different purpose. It will no longer be that of a slave or servant but will hereafter be directed towards equipping our boys and girls to be citizens of Free India.

VI

A VIJAYA DASAMI MESSAGE

ALL power flows from the Infinite Shakti that surrounds and supports us. Let us be worthy children of the Mother to whom we offer worship this week, and of the culture of our fathers and let us not fall a prey to the petty forces of greed or other evil passions.

Durga Puja is the national festival of Bengal. In the remote villages as well as in the cities, people gather together at these celebrations irrespective of religion, caste or creed. National festivals are as important as schools, lecture-halls, parliaments or governments.

In every country of the world, festivals play a very large part in the conservation of the national culture and character. They may appear to be sectional, but, in fact, the entire body of the people takes part in the joy of the celebrations, deriving fresh cultural inspiration from them every year. The Europeans and Parsis in Bombay enjoy the Deepavali nearly as much as do the Gujaratis. The Hindus in the south of India take part in the processions during Moharrum week as much as the Muslims. No wonder then that the Puja celebrations rouse the same festive feelings in the minds of the Muslim and Christian in Bengal as they do in those of the Hindu.

The victory of Vijaya Dasami is the victory of the Mother of all living beings over hatred and all other forms of ugliness. May common humanity triumph over all differences and may we every year renew our capacity for friendship. The pain felt instinctively for another's suffering, the pleasure taken instinctively in another's joy—this is the invisible force that binds all humanity together, just as the force of gravitation binds all matter together into one whole in this ordered Universe.

In matters of life and death it is dangerous to be vague. The problems of India and her present crisis stand in a class by themselves. It is useless to search for or to follow precedents of other countries for their solution. There is only one solution for the problem arising out of communal differences in India. We shall perish if we do not follow Gandhiji's advice.

In this imperfect world, we must retain the individual's right of private self-defence to a limited extent. The arm of the State is not long enough, nor is it necessary or desirable to wait for State interference in every case. Where a crime is committed the victim, or those who happen to be near, may exercise the right of defence. This has been provided for in the laws of all civilised countries, including India. Such self-defence not only supplements the authority of the police, but can be considered to be a duty of the citizen. However, the right of self defence does not mean retaliation. We cannot kill A's son in retaliation for A's crimes. We may hurt A grievously while attempting to prevent his crime, but when the crime is over, any further violence ceases to be self-defence and becomes retaliation and from then on it is forbidden to attack A or A's family, or the members of his tribe or community. It is needless to add that it would be nothing but cold-blooded crime to wreck vengeance on unknown persons on the ground that they belonged to the same creed as one who had committed a grievous crime in some distant place. The loose talk that has been encouraged in connection with communal disturbances, in which the number of deaths in one place is balanced with the number of deaths elsewhere, is nothing but a reversion to barbarity and the surrender of India's claim to be civilised. India cannot hope to live as a free country if she surrenders her civilisation.

We have had the division of a single state into two self-governing States. This does not, however, provide us with a frontier for the carrying on of war between each other. It is the people and not the territory that form a State. The large masses of men and women who have been left permanently on either side of the frontier, render all talk of war and the preparations for war between India and Pakistan, foolish to the point of absurdity.

Having divided and settled down under the terms of an agreement which we should honour, we should respect one another's prestige and authority. Respect given by either State to the other will result at once in a valuable enhancement of its own prestige and authority. Each majority should look upon the care of the minorities within its territorial limits as a sacred duty and a first charge on its attention. Liberal principles in the treatment of minorities have become easier to practice as a result of partition. Let us all so behave that, in spite of recent happenings, India may regain her position of honour in the civilised world.

VII

MANY WAYS TO LEAD TO GOD

IT gives me very great pleasure to see all of you gathered on this maidan. We have come together to exchange greetings and good wishes at the conclusion of Id and Puja. From times beyond memory, man has been searching for a solution to the mystery of the universe, a mystery that is, as we have to come to see, insoluble and not to be unravelled by the imagination and wit of man. But even though we cannot understand it, we know enough to make us approach this mystery with a sense of awe and reverence. We have to approach it with awe and reverence, whether we catch a glimpse of it in the blossoming flower, in the volcano, or in the evolution of man.

When we see a dragon-fly hovering above the swift-running stream, or a little flower on the garden wall, we see God and nothing else. When you put a tiny seed into the soil and see the tree coming up with its branches and spreading its fragrance, beauty and colour, you see God and nothing else. It was this that the Rishi in the Upanishads explained to his pupils in that beautiful chapter, which those who have read the Upanishads, will remember. When Tennyson sang of the little flower, he too saw God in that little flower.

There is no greater joy in the world than the contemplation of this mystery, which we can never fully understand. If different people approach it in different ways, should we quarrel with them instead of enjoying it together? When Abraham offered to sacrifice his only son at the call of a God who wished to test his faith, he showed the strength of the spirit which God has planted in the human heart. And this grand and beautiful old story is rendered in different ways in different religions—in Christianity, the Jewish faith and in Islam.

The Id, which took place only a couple of days ago, is the celebration by the common folk of Abraham's victory over himself when he offered his only son to God. And if, in the Durga and Lakshmi Pujas, the Hindus of India celebrate this victory of man over evil, it is just another form of that great mystery and not different from it. We can approach this mystery in terror and grief, but we can also approach it in such joy that even children can take part in it. That children do participate in our Puja celebrations illustrates this truth. When we make beautiful images of common clay and call them Lakshmi or Durga, do you think we do it without the spirit of God behind it? A little flower is as much a part of the mystery as are the great Himalayas. and a small clay-image is as much a part of the big mystery as the greatest monument on earth. It is our faith and our strength of spirit that can reach God, either through a clod of earth or when we stand before the whole of the Himalayas. All forms of worship lead to the same mystery. Our forefathers showed great wisdom when they taught that every form of worship leads to God and that we should not, therefore, quarrel over the difference between forms.

Our fathers were never wiser than when they laid it down that we should not disturb the faith of the common people, whatever form it might take. And when, as during last week, the Id and Dasserah coincided was it cause for alarm? No, I tell you, it was a cause for joy. When different people approach God in different ways and it happens that they do it in the same week, is it not a matter for great joy? Therefore let us hope and let us pray that hereafter too, for many years, over and over again, Id and Puja may come at the same time and that Bengal may celebrate both in the same manner as she did this year.

This week Bengal has set an example. Your Government, your officers and men and women, have wholly triumphed during this week. You really enacted the Mother's victory over evil and passion. May this victory spread all over India, not by our fame but by our example. It is foolish, nay more, it is insane to believe that different people have different gods. There is only one God. I have no doubt that the manner in which Bengal has celebrated Id and Puja this time is a matter which will have given the greatest possible joy to the Mother whom we sought to worship.

VIII

ON TREES

I DO not think that any officer, whether he be a constable, or a peon, or a Governor, can do any more useful work than planting a tree. Nobody should cut down a tree in India without planting at least two saplings in place of the tree he has cut down. You should not lop the young branches of trees, for a tree cannot afford to lose its tender branches any more than you can afford to lose your fingers. How would you like it if trees went about plucking your fingers from your hands? But the poor trees cannot do so because they cannot move. You have been given the power of moving and you should not misuse that power.

We all know that trees are living creatures. When I say 'we all know' I mean that all uneducated people know it. All uneducated people know that trees have life, but those who are educated are doubtful of this. There is nothing more beautiful in the world than a living tree. It is as sinful to deprive a living tree of its leaves as it would be to seal the mouth and nose of a growing child to prevent it from breathing.

We must be as tender to trees and plants as we are to children. Not only have plants life, but I may assure you that they are god themselves. That is why we worship the *Tulsi* plant, that is why we worship the *Aswattha* tree, and that is why we worship the Neem tree.

You can take a piece of earth and make Durga out of it. You can make Lakshmi out of a clod. With our own hands we make *Pratimas,* but God makes a tree out of a clod of earth. We must therefore treat all plants as we treat Durga and Lakshmi, whom we worship every year.

I came into this house as a stranger. I am glad that I should have been able to plant no less than five trees this morning, which will remain after I go. The gardeners will, I hope, look after these plants carefully, and should any of them die I should like to be informed.

This *Aswattha* tree here represents Saraswati the Goddess of Wisdom, this Neem tree represents Parvati, the Goddess of Bhakti, and the *Tulsi* plant represents Lakshimi, the Goddess of Compassion. May this country be a combination of all three. Let us hope that the trees will grow and bear flowers and fruit. This will take some time, but the Tulsi plant will grow very fast, for Compassion grows much more quickly than Wisdom or Bhakti. May you all be compassionate in all your activities.

IX

CIVIL STRIFE

EVERY disease can be cured if we find out its true cause. The reason why we have not lived peacefully together in recent times is that we have not learnt to sing, sleep, and eat together, as often as we should. We must therefore launch a programme, and an active programme, of eating together, playing together, working together and living together, if we wish to improve the condition of affairs in India.

Some may think that eating, sleeping, working, playing and so on, are too trifling to improve the situation. But that is not correct. My view is that since we quarrel over trifling things, we can also make up our differences by attending to trifles.

If we attend more meetings like this, at which Hindus and Muslims eat together, I believe things will improve. A rupee spent on foodstuffs at a common gathering is better spent than a rupee given as a subscription to a political organisation. I also wish to say that not merely the men, but the women of all communities should often meet together. Women understand the difficulties arising out of riots and disturbances better than men do. The women of all communities have suffered more during the last few months than ever the men could possibly think of inflicting on them. We have by our follies brought such misery to Indian womanhood as we shall never be able to answer for before God. We may quote from the scriptures of any religion, but God will not pardon us for the sins we have committed. There is no chance whatever of our obtaining forgiveness unless we behave better than we are doing, and cleanse our inner spirit.

I admire the courage and patriotism which is being displayed by Muslims in the Dominion of India. I admire their courage in giving their expression of loyalty to the Indian Union and to the Indian National Flag. I can well understand the amount of sacrifice involved in this and if there be any who doubt my proposition, I suggest that he should put himself in the position of a Hindu in Pakistan who offers allegiance to Pakistan and its State Flag. It is only then that he will understand the force of my argument.

There is no remedy to the present state of affairs except that which Gandhiji has been preaching. What Gandhiji has been saying is nothing new. It is the fundamental of all religions, including Islam and Hinduism. It is this, that if you want to improve the characters of others, you must first improve your own. If you wait for the other man to improve his character before you improve your own, you will have to wait till doomsday. The only alternative is the way of force and that leads to misery and suffering. Therefore let the people in the Dominion of India behave well towards one another, when matters will automatically improve in Pakistan. This is the simple prescription which Mahatmaji is trying to give to his friends and colleagues.

There is one thing more I wish to say. but it has nothing to do with communal quarrels. We have begun an era of freedom. This is the time for work and not for quarrelling. If we do not work and continue to quarrel, our state of independence will be worse than the state of dependence. We cannot be happy unless we have wealth in the country and we cannot have wealth in the country unless we all get to work in the plain and honest sense of the word. Whatever may be our profession, if we do not put forth honest work, our country will become poorer. If we waste the early hours of the morning, that is to say the first years of independence, we shall be poorer by evening.

People talk to you about many plans and schemes. I wish these people go to Russia and see how the Russians are working to-day. They will see how much suffering the Russians endure and how unselfishly they work for the State. I would say, therefore, that laziness should be made a capital offence in our country. A murderer kills only his victim, but a lazy clerk kills the whole State of India. We must put aside all other ideas, and from this moment every man and woman must do the work allotted to them with double speed: otherwise there is no hope for the country. You may not now agree with what I have said this evening, but ten years hence you will discover that while I was right you were wrong.

X

DISCIPLINE

IN the course of his report the Rector has quoted high authority for the maintenance of discipline in life. Discipline is difficult and the atmosphere all round us is not favourable for its maintenance. It is easier to study and pass examinations than to control oneself and observe vigilant self-restraint, and that is why whenever anyone speaks to students, emphasis is laid on the need for discipline. Discipline is, as I have said, difficult to maintain. You will forgive me if I say that the difficulty is increased by the hesitation of those who are responsible for giving advice. Even here you will have noticed—if the Rector will pardon my saying so—how the language demanding enforcement of discipline is sought to be put in the mouths of other people than in that of the Rector himself. Friends, we need discipline; I ask you to be disciplined.

May I take this opportunity of saying, plainly and firmly, that principals and professors of colleges must talk plainly and firmly to those who are in their charge and tell them—'We want discipline, otherwise we shall have nothing to do with you.' This must be clearly said and not put on to the shoulders of others. I do not mince matters. I tell you exactly what I feel. If principals and professors talk plainly and firmly and without hesitation, I know that the boys and girls who are my brothers and sisters, will understand them and follow their advice. Let there be no beating about the bush.

We should talk plainly to one another, though we need not be so brutal as the German Professor. I tender this advice to principals and professors because I have faith in our boys and girls. Were we not disciplined from time immemorial? Are we not born of the wombs of those who were resolutely disciplined, the descendants of the Munis and Rishis of the past?

Discipline was never more necessary than now, when, as the Rector has put it, we have entered on a new era since August 15, 1947. We have begun a new era in which nobody is responsible for us but ourselves. If we do not work hard and behave in a disciplined manner, our state of independence will be worse than our state of dependence. Independence is a mere context that we have achieved, a state of our environment, but the substance of Independence has yet to be gained by our own deeds. Must we not work to produce? Must we not study to learn? Must we not learn to behave well?

Therefore, friends, let us keep our ideals before us. Let us now unloose the reins, but hold the horse firmly and direct the chariot in the right direction. I shall not detain you any longer. I thank you very much for giving me the courage to talk plainly to you.

XI

THE ARMY IN FREE INDIA

THE Indian Army is now in a different position from the Army of former days. Before, it was functioning under a foreign power. Even though civil officers were working under local officials and ministers, the Army was kept carefully isolated. To-day it is different; you are now working directly under your own Government. Do all of you realise this? Actual realization is something more than merely knowing that you are serving under your own Government. Suppose I keep a biscuit on the table, I know that there is a biscuit on the table. But when I put in my mouth I realise the biscuit. The difference is very great. The time has come when the Army must realise the fact that it is serving under its own Government. At every success, at every stage in your training, you should feel that it is a success for your Government, your own Government. The Army is all the time engaged on patriotic work, whereas the civil people get mixed up in their own affairs. The Army people, if I may say so, are 'professional' patriots; that is to say, its patriotism has become a part of its profession. It is one thing to work for A and quite another thing to work for B. You are working for your own Government and that should make a lot of difference.

One more thing I want to tell you, which I hope you will listen to and pass on to your comrades, not only of the University Training Corps, but those who do not come for training. It is very important. The State Service—whether it be a municipal service that supplies water or gas, or that is a department in charge of rations, or a State service which repairs the roads and is responsible for their upkeep, or a hospital service which distributes medicines and drugs to sick people, or an Army which defends the country—is intended to serve the whole body of people and not only a section of it. You are serving the entire body of citizens and not only the majority of them or any of their sections. You are getting orders from the majority but you are serving everyone. You must serve all people of every caste and religion and of every position in life who are citizens of the country.

In the old days the Army was asked to be loyal to the King. The King stands for the whole State and loyalty to the King means loyalty to the whole state. In those days it was easy for the young men in the Army to be impartial, because they did not care for one more than the other. But today, when you are asked to be loyal to the Government, you have a difficulty to overcome. You have to overcome the illusion of your community. You may think that it is very easy to work for the whole State and not to remember your own community but unless you keep your lungs in good order you cannot run uphill and unless you keep your minds in good order, the Army will find it difficult to work for all communities, whether they the minority or the majority, or whether they are your own or someone else's.

In the old days it was easy for soldiers to be impartial. But in the India of to-day politics are unfortunately mixed up with community and creed. Every day, when you open the newspaper you read of nothing but communities and creeds. Every day when you hear the talk of politicians, it is to find nothing but community and creed. But so far as the Army is concerned, I must tell you on behalf of the Government of India, the Government of West Bengal and the Government as a whole, that you should have no communal bias. The Army should be as straight as a gun. The gun is a rigidly straight instrument, and similarly, the soldier should be straight. He should stand for the entire community and should have no bias in his mind. You should forget your bias and be as mathematically straight as a straight line, or as the barrel of your rifle. That is a training which your officers cannot give you, for it must depend upon your own intellect. As University students you can well realise why it is necessary. You should think this over and be so sure of it in your own minds that you will infect everybody with your sense of justice. Otherwise you will not be soldiers, you will only be members of a private Army.

You all know that most of the British officers have gone. You are all very glad, I know, because you realise now that the Army is in your own hands —not merely in theory, but in practice, and you are receiving rapid promotion. But you must prove yourselves worthy of promotion. Therefore you should not all be so mightily glad that the experienced British Officers are going away. You may have some regret over it. Meanwhile, we must take the burden on ourselves. This undertaking requires strength, skill and persistence, resolution of mind and hard work. The Army must now realise that hereafter we must ourselves be responsible for officering the Army. We must have unity, discipline, carefulness and understanding. That is why, from now on, all our officers will be University men. This means, too, that hereafter there will be rapid promotion and a natural temptation for men to work for it. The army will become a hot-bed of intrigue if people act for their own selfish ends. So, therefore, you must not only be disciplined in your hands and your legs but in your tongues and minds. This is our own Army and if we ruin it we shall be ruining ourselves. Great discipline is necessary both in conduct and behaviour. If we have no discipline in our conversation and general conduct, the Army will soon degenerate into factious groups. You must therefore learn to do things in a first class way and to get full marks.

XII

MEANING OF SWARAJ

SOME twenty-five years ago, when we were recasting the constitution of the Congress, your great leader, the late Deshbandhu Das, moved an amendment that the word 'Swaraj' in the Congress constitution should be changed to complete independence.' 'Swaraj' was the word used in the creed of the Congress constitution and after the amendment had been discussed for a while, Deshbandhu Das came back and told me—I remember it vividly—that he had come to the conclusion that the amendment should be withdrawn and that the word 'Swaraj' should stand. In his view 'Independence' was too negative. 'Swaraj' was larger than 'independence,' and so he thought that the word 'swaraj' should remain as originally drafted. Independence was ours as soon as the British retired, but 'swaraj' can only be attained by hard work. Today we are working out the proposition which was accepted by Deshbandhu Das twenty-five years ago.

When the ocean was churned by our forefathers—if we may presume to speak of the Gods as our forefathers—what was first obtained was poison and not *amrit*. The very instrument which they had used for the churning of the ocean emitted poison. Even the very ropes that they had used for the purpose began to pour out poison. But Shiva mercifully swallowed it. To-day, even before the churning is over, a poison has been emitted which has set India ablaze and put her to shame. But there is a Lord Shiva who will swallow the poison and save us. Shiva has not disappeared with the churning of the ocean. Shiva lives to-day, lives in all of us if we have the devotion to worship him. If only we realise the Shiva in us, the God in us, we can swallow all this poison and make India prosperous. Thank God the great Poison-Swallower has left a devotee in Mahatmaji. Lest in our weakness we should forget the truth he is here in flesh and blood to give us a continued remind of it, and I tender the gratitude of the whole nation to you, people of Bengal, for your faithful acceptance of that message and for maintaining love and keeping the poison in your throats.

When the circumstances created by a new civilisation are imposed upon a nation which still remains at bottom within its old civilisation, all kinds of complications may arise. If progress is spontaneous and indigeneous, there is no conflict, but when progress is brought from outside and swallowed greedily, complications are bound to arise. If we want the amenities of civilised life, we must work hard and honestly for them all the days of our lives. To begin with a costly civilisation before we have begun to work is like beginning married life with a heavy load of debt. It is better to be without debt and to live a simple life, than to borrow money from the *sarkar* and to live unhappily and anxiously. If we want good roads, if we want good armies, if we want well-paid clerks, well-paid officers, a well-paid Police force; if we also want drainage, public health hospitals, first-class universities, and colleges and schools, we must put quality into our work and every man and woman must lead an industrious life. I consider that the Goddess of Freedom has come, but she is not enough: the Goddess of Industry must also come and we must hug her to our bosoms. The Goddess of industry cannot be invoked unless every limb of the body works hard. The Government at Delhi has planned to distribute crores and crores of rupees to the provinces, but the money is being spent like water in just putting out the fire that has been raging in the country. All our dilapidated houses in the villages and wooded jungles will begin to smile if we really have arms, as our national song says, not for adornment, but for work.

Europe has been ruined by mutual distrust. But the European is industrious and can rise again after wars. Even a single war in India would be disastrous for all time. Friends, do not talk lightly of war and of armed forces. Leave all the arrangements there must be, to Government. A declaration of war would be a terrible disaster for the whole of India and a signal for ruin. It would be almost as disastrous for the nation as is suicide for a single individual. Education and health cannot be secured if we live in a state of war, which, in fact would mean civil war in every Indian village. Let us therefore abjure all talk of war. In the soil of India and of Bengal in particular, there is so much love embedded geologically, that there would be no war if only we made up our minds against it. As an old man with some experience of India and Indian conditions, let me tell you that it is better to take the risk of love and trust, than to launch on a journey of distrust and hatred. Let us learn to think and to talk straight, for no hypocrisy will help us. Be true and faithful to the message of Sri Chaitanya Dev and of the other great men of your province.

XIII

GANDHIJI'S FAST

WE are all excited over Gandhiji's fast. We have recently been witnesses of numerous cruelties and barbarities of an altogether unprecedented kind. Communal disharmony, fear, distrust and ill-will, which have resulted in passion, and thoughtlessness and have lead to barbarity and cruelty, were permitted to continue for an unconscionably long time. When enlightened men become callous, a great one like Gandhiji feels that life is purposeless. Crime is common enough in this world. But when enlightened men, leaders of public opinion, men of trained intellect, like officials and politicians, are not sufficiently stirred by the wickedness and the folly around them, to take action, a man like Gandhiji feels that life has become useless. He says to himself—'What is the good of my living? If it was something wanting in me, then I must do something to atone for the lack. Have I gone to enough exertion to make the intellectual and social classes think about these matters? If I have done all I could and yet cannot convert them, what does it matter if I die?' One can understand—at least I can—that in the present circumstances a man like Gandhiji should feel that life is not worth living.

Friends, I have been present on a number of occasions when he undertook fasts and I have wrangled with him every time. But this time, let me confess to you, I am not inclined to wrangle with him. I really do not see why old people such as ourselves, should continue to live if we are useless. What is the justification for continuing to live if we cannot stop such follies as we have been going through? Of course, I am speaking of the old and not about younger people. People like me, who have grown to an advanced age, feel that if we cannot influence the society in which we live, it is better that we pass out. There is no pain in death. It causes pain to the people who are left behind, but many men have died—great men—and in course of time we have forgotten all about them. It is not in a merely figurative sense that Gandhiji has said in his statement that there is no friend like Death. Death saves us from all trouble and pain. What Gandhiji says about death is literally true.

Gandhiji has chosen a traditionally honoured method of dying. At the same time, because he is not entitled to condemn his fellow-beings outright, he is giving them a chance. He says—'I shall fast and die unless you show me a change of heart.' What, then, can we do? That is the point. Gandhiji has not imposed too great a demand on us. What Gandhiji now wants, as far as I can see, is something less than he wished for when he undertook the fast in Calcutta in September last. What he wants is that the men and women whom he has a right to expect to act at a high level, should exhibit a determination to stop this thoughtlessness. He has given a very modest territorial limitation—Delhi—the metropolis of India and the centre of our culture. He will be satisfied and break his fast if the men and women of Delhi, who as leaders of public opinion are responsible for the feelings and activities of large masses of human beings, show a real change of heart.

Look at our own province. We have real reason to be proud of it. We have done fairly well in maintaining peace. We have set an example to the rest of the country from here, yet there are still some who are not satisfied and who say that things are still underground and still explosive. But as far as I can judge, men have got into the habit of right thinking in regard to communal relationships, and that is as much as we can hope for.

Now, is it wickedness or is it thoughtlessness which is at the root of all these troubles? We are not an essentially bad people. We are really the same people as we were before. We have not been suddenly possessed by devils. Therefore it must be mere thoughtlessness. This, friends, being my view, we have every reason to hope that in Delhi too there will be a change of mind and heart and that Gandhiji may be induced to break his fast.

At the same time something tells me somewhat differently. I hope it is wrong. But something tells me that this time I should not be too hopeful. Quite a number of our intellectuals have got into the habit of wrong thinking. I feel that for some reason people have become tired. They do not wish to work in a hopeful way. They are angry. They do not listen to reason. They feel that a showdown is necessary. Now this is arrant non-sense. There is no doubt about it. The only sane man to-day is Mahatma Gandhi. The others are either wholly or partly wrong. We must stop this thoughtlessness. We could have indulged in a showdown a thousand years ago, but it is not possible now. You can no more conduct a war than you can pull up a grown-up tree by the roots and keep it alive. We have become too intermixed. We have adopted a new civilisation and we cannot do without it.

Is it possible for civilisation to survive with civil war in every province, town and village? No, we are far too civilised even to be foolish enough to talk of civil war. We cannot have it both ways. We want civilisation because we feel we cannot live without it. Therefore, if you listen to me, you will give up all thought of bellicosity. Unless you change your minds, you cannot change your conduct. Mere words are of no use. Now, in Bengal, you have a great opportunity of showing the way because you have laid the foundations of communal harmony. If all people act like the people of Bengal, Gandhiji may get the desired result and be induced to break his fast.

I do hope that your mental resolution will have its effect beyond the borders of Bengal. Let us try to set an example by the old-fashioned way of simple and trustful prayer and God will help us.

XIV

ON THE DEATH OF MAHATMA GANDHI

I REACHED the banks of the Jamuna on the afternoon of January 31 and saw the flames consuming the body of our beloved leader. I met Sarojini Devi, Maulana Sahib and Jawaharlalji. We could do nothing but clasp one another in our arms and weep. Some weeks ago, when Mahatmaji began his fast, all India trembled with fear. He broke his fast when the leaders of every community in Delhi gave him their pledges and all India rejoiced. Mahatma began his fast in sorrow, but when he broke it nobody was more glad than he, for he wanted to go on serving India. When he saw things improving he was as happy as the bird that played with its mate over the head of Valmiki. Now, Bharat Mata is writhing on the ground in anguish over her lost mate.

No man ever loved his sweetheart more than Mahatmaji loved us. When the bird was struck down by the cruel hunter, Valmiki was overwhelmed by pity and shouted: 'O Cruel hunter, may you never find peace on earth.' That passion, and the rhythm in which it found expression, gave the rhythm and the melody to the *Ramayana*. May our own history be written to the tune and rhythm of the passion that was suffered by Bharat Mata when Mahatmaji fell.

May the grievous tragedy that has been enacted in Delhi give us the inspiration and the rhythm for the shaping of our future history.

Are we lamenting for Mahatmaji? I tell you brothers and sisters, that though Mahatmaji was very dear to me, I do not grieve for him. No man can meet a death more glorious. He was working to lead and to join in prayer. He was about to speak to his Ram. He was a few minutes late and so was walking fast in order to get to his place as quickly as possible. How many of you would not wish to die when running to pray? Mahatmaji did not die in bed, he did not call for hot wàter or a doctor or nurses. He did not die after mumbling incoherent words in sickness and being unable to identify the relatives and friends around him. He died standing, not even sitting down. He died as he was going to speak to his Ram, but Ram took him to himself even before he reached his place in the prayer gathering, and as the wicked man who did him to death had emptied three bullets into his body—one into his stomach and two into his chest—the pain was reduced to a minimum and lasted only one moment. He made up for his lost five minutes by going straight to his Ram. Why, therefore, should we grieve for him?

There is plenty of reason for us to grieve for ourselves. Socretes died for his work and Christ died for his faith. We did not believe we could get any other example like that. 'Conquer hate by love,' said Mahatma Gandhi all these years and he was killed because he preached love. 'Iswara is your name, Allah is your name. Oh, Bhagwan! grant good sense to all your people,' he prayed every day and therefore he was killed. He was killed because he preached that all faiths are one and all names are God. Let us not lament. Let us be proud and let us deserve him. He was the friend and lover of all the men and women whom he met. Indeed, he was like Krishna and as Krishna died when a hunter's arrow pierced and sucked his life away, so also has our Krishna died. Let us not grieve for him and let us make up for our own faults. It is weakness to cry over our own difficulties. What we have to do is to deserve having possessed, even for a brief period of time, the man who has passed away.

Friends, when men have to face trouble, when men have to grieve, they sometimes tend to give vent to their grief by anger against others. There are those who are going about saying that the Government of India has not done its duty by not being able to protect our greatest possession. Our greatest possession has gone, no doubt. But is it right to fall foul of our leaders on that account? It is easy to fish in troubled waters, but difficult to be just and sensible.

All these eighty years, did the Government of India protect Mahatmaji? Have there not been scores of occasions when, during these forty years in South Africa and India he was in the greatest danger, and did the Government of India protect his life? During the last few years, did not the greatest anger and the highest passion develop like a storm, yet did he not live and did the Government of India protect him? Is it not idiotic to blame the Government of India because God has taken him away? During our recent troubles, could not any member of the various communities and groups have killed him in anger? Yet did he not still live? Was there not anger, great anger, against Vallabhbhai Patel, against Jawaharlal

Nehru and against many others amongst my colleagues? Was their protection a simple matter? Would it not have been vulgar if the Government of India had posted guards and detectives in private rooms and gardens? It would have made life impossible for Gandhiji. It is idle and mischievous to go about blaming the Government. Let us rather turn our eyes to God. Let us turn our eyes within and search our own hearts. Let us not waste time in senseless accusations.

XV

OUR AJATASATRU

So it is all over!

The world feels so empty! Dreadfully empty!

The bird escaped at 5 on Friday, January 30. The body remained with us and the lingering smile on the face kept the illusion going for some time. But on the banks of Jumna, on Saturday, January, 31, we consigned the body of our beloved leader to the flames in accordance with the wisdom of our ancestors. Then we scraped together all that was left. Devotion made us see Bapu in the ashes and the orphaned people held fondly to the thought. But the solemn wisdom of our ancestors called on us to consign the ashes to the elements again and to turn our thoughts to God. So we have entrusted the ashes to Holy Ganga and prayed. And now we are returning home with heavy hearts, for we feel a void about us. Every day at the hour when Bapu fell may our thoughts turn to him, our beloved teacher, our *Ajatasatru*, our *Satyadharmaparakramah*, who was an unfailing physician to countless millions, and who removed fear and ever thought and sought to increase love.

Every day at five in the evening may all the men and women of India recall the scene of assembled men and women who were waiting for Bapu to join them, recall the dear face and contemplate on what he wished and prayed for. Every day let us spend a couple of minutes thus at that hour of the evening and in silence pray for universal goodwill in India. Even our grief tends to find shape and solace in anger and violence. Our vigilance against this original sin which poisons our natures must therefore be eternal. Suppression and State-coercion cannot be avoided in this imperfect world. But let us realise clearly and once and for all, that goodwill cannot be established, except in the way that our beloved leader taught. There is so much war-like talk about peace and so much belligerent demand for goodwill. But fire cannot be quenched by oil. May we remember the wisdom of the love which our departed leader has left us for an inheritance—his teaching and the memory of the life he lived.

Do not demand love. Love is never obtained that way. Love and you will be loved. Increase your love and more love will be induced and will flow towards you. This is the law and no statute or logic can alter it. So he is gone. But if we do not follow the law as taught by him and let it die with the teacher, we shall not only fall but will have become indeed accomplices of the murderer. If we follow his law with all our hearts, he is not dead. He will live in us and through us. Let us remember how every day our beloved leader sang and the crowd sang with him:

Ishwar Allah tere nam
Sabko sanmati de Bhagwan.

XVI

ON MUSIC

MUSIC owes its origin to religion and still has its roots in it. Music is, therefore, an essential element of culture and as it is not just a sensual art, is a necessary part of the education of both boys and girls. A training in melody and rhythm certainly helps in shaping character and behaviour better than reiterated precepts. Music as well as dancing furnish a most appropriate medium for the expression and cultivation of piety and devotion. Parents should not grudge the cost of the training of their children in music and dancing.

XVII

AYURVEDA

TRUTH is one. Every question arising out of ill-health, like any other question about a physical fact, can only have one answer. Medical science is therefore one, being no more than a search for truth in regard to the health of man. In matters relating to the unknown, which is wrapped in mystery and cannot be solved by the finite mind of man, completely different approaches and opinions are possible and permissible, but this is not the case, in those relating to physical truth. There can be denominations in religion but not in science.

Vested interests should never be allowed to mar the progress of science. There has been a comparative stagnation of knowledge in medical science in India, partly because the superior instruments of modern science were not available to Indian physicians and also, unfortunately, because secrecy has governed many branches of knowledge in India, including medicine, whereas the results of experiments and observations have become common property in the West so making the progress of science easy. Introduce modern instruments of research and observation here and remove secrecy, and you will have the same conditions here for progress as in the West.

Our civilisation is very old and it is no wonder therefore that our accumulated knowledge of drugs is enormous. But we must keep that large stock of knowledge tidy and revised. Even a big city can get into a bad condition if it is not properly looked after. So it is also with Ayurveda lore.

The main thing to guard against is quackery. Quackery, which is a disservice and treason in any sphere, is due not so much to ignorance as to greed. Quackery is bad whoever may practise it. It is therefore in the interests of Ayurveda that you should ask for the due regulation of its practitioners. Side by side with the elimination of quackery and the regulation of Ayurvedic practitioners, research work must be taken in hand, as also the collecting, collating, sifting and bringing up to date of the body of knowledge we have inherited from our forefathers.

XVIII

IDLENESS IS TREASON

CONVOCATION addresses have become so formal and stale that they can no longer be of much consequence in shaping the actual lives of the graduates to whom by convention they are addressed. Indeed it would be true to admit that no speech, however good and full of convincing argument it may be, has at any time any great effect on the conduct of those to whom it is addressed. This may seem to be too cynical a statement, but I firmly believe that it is neither speeches nor sayings, but only example that inspires and infects, for good or evil.

Every nation has inherited excellent proverbs and maxims and didactic literature. Yet it must be admitted that these have had little effect on man. Example and personality stand, however, on a different footing. The undoubted influence of Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, Swami Vivekananda and Gandhiji, is due to the lives of these great men, rather than to the undeniable wisdom of their sayings, great speeches and writings. A book admired, a speech listened to with reverence, affects one momentarily, but it is only the moral and spiritual forces which are generated by the unblemished and purposeful lives of great men that can change the conduct of men and women.

In every age men are born who can thus influence others and it is this that sustains the progress of the world. But it would not be right to wait for the appearance of great men. All enlightened and educated men and women must take up the function of showing how to think, how to speak and how to live to the rest of our people and continually to act as guardians of culture and right conduct.

It is well that we understand the fundamental realities of things, the true import and meaning of which are only too often hidden by too much familiarity. University education is not just the good fortune of a lucky few. That some must be continuously trained for leadership is an essential part of any scheme of civilised life which is to ensure order and progress. In some form or other, among all civilised peoples and in all ages, this has been and is being done. Higher education is thus not an accomplishment for a personal advantage, for the obtaining of which you should be grateful, but a definite acceptance of an obligation of service by way of active leadership.

Do not depend upon propaganda to improve the conditions around you, but depend more upon the effect of your own daily life. Up to a point propaganda has its utility, but it soon tends to turn into something with which we deceive ourselves and so carries us no further. The main thing to attend to at the present moment in our country, is to establish uprightness of conduct between man and man, so that the burden of our national Government may be reduced to a minimum. Since every individual has become a shareholder in this great joint-stock company that we call Free India, he should contribute his best to the joint concern. Cent-per-cent honesty in all work, which would dispense with the need for supervision or inspection; a spirit of industriousness which would place all talent, resources and time, at the disposal of the community, and an equal regard for every kind of work that would contribute to the welfare of the community, whatever the intellectual or physical labour it involved, these constitute the substance of the patriotic endeavour needed in Free India. The external struggle for freedom is over. Our effort must hereafter be directed towards maintaining the moral and civic standards of our daily life.

The most serious unwitting offence against the State that one can commit in Free India is idleness. Slack work is treason in the present state of our affairs. And all work is worthy; nothing is small or menial. It is all superior. That which is unpleasant though necessary, is, if carried out with loyalty, the noblest service to the State and thus it becomes superior service, whatever its conventional classification.

XIX

NATIONAL LANGUAGE

YOU see I am talking in English. This is both an apology and a warning to boys. If boys do not care to learn the *rashtrabhasha* when it is easy for them to learn, like me, they will grow too old to learn it afterwards. I hope that Hindustani will be taken up, not only by those boys of this institution whose mother tongue it is, but by those whose mother tongue it is not. In Bengal, the primary medium of instruction must be Bengali, but in cities like Calcutta there are quite a number of people whose only possible medium can be Hindustani. For such people, schools that work through the medium of Hindustani are absolutely necessary.

Children must receive education through their respective mother tongue. In fact, their education must be a family affair, whereby character is formed and culture shaped. This means, too, that the greatest amount of personal attention is necessary. But as, nowadays, our families are not capable of taking charge of the education of their own children, their co-operation is needed for the running of schools which may have the appearance of being communal institutions. These are necessary in cities such as Calcutta. This being a Hindustani school, it serves the incidental purpose of popularising the national language of the country.

The adoption of Hindustani as our national language does not imply that it is superior to other languages. Hindustani has been selected as the national language because it is spoken by nearly everyone in nearly all places. I have noticed a strong tendency on the part of those whose mother tongue is Hindustani to push its claims for attention with a kind of arrongance. This is not a wise attitude. Consideration for others is necessary in all directions. I lay stress on this, because it is very effective propaganda for the national language in Calcutta and elsewhere. We should remember that those whose mother tongue is Hindustani get an adventitious advantage. They should therefore show great consideration when approaching those whose mother tongue is not Hindustani. Not only must you be careful, but in the beginning you must also bear the burden to a certain extent.

XX

RELIGION IN EDUCATION

IT is now seventy odd years since your University was started with eleven students and seven teachers. To-day its strength has increased a hundred times. The seed which was sown in the proper field has borne good fruit. To-day, in celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the founder of this institution, let us think of him with affection and invoke his spirit, that it may be gladdened.

The seven teachers and eleven students with which the Aligarh College was started, is perhaps the right proportion of teachers and students. Without a personal association between students and teachers no real education can be had, but in these days it is not possible to have seven teachers for eleven students. Now, therefore, more discipline, more self-restraint and greater concentration and devotion to their studies has become necessary on the part of the students. Their responsibility is all the greater when the number of teachers is proportionately less.

From the very beginning, students from different denominations of Hindus, Muslims and Parsis have been admitted into the Aligarh University. It was intended to be a liberal institution. Nothing else was possible in the great days of the nineteenth century. Education can have little value if it is without that background of tradition and culture which we call religion. True, we could do without religion in our schools and provide only a secular education if our boys and girls could have religion in their home life. But, especially among educated Hindus, the home does not now furnish that religious background which is necessary for the right upbringing of boys and girls. A factious spirit has taken the place of, and stimulates the religious background among the lettered people. Family worship has ceased to be maintained in educated families.

If we have no religious background in the home or school or college, the younger generation will have no real background of culture. It is impossible to make people religious otherwise than by example, but we can retain something of the religious background in the school. Hindu boys should read the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata*, the *Gita* and other religious books, and in the same way, Muslims and Christians should read the Koran and the Bible. We should certainly maintain the religious background in educational institutions, but it must be a free background.

The beauty of one's own religion can be most truly perceived when one studies other religions with sympathy and care. The study of the scriptures and ways of life of other people will enable us to follow our own religion all the better. Islam need not be a subject of study in Aligarh for Muslim boys alone; Hindu students might also study it with advantage and so broaden their cultural outlook.

XXI

NURSERY SCHOOLS

IT is not only high schools and colleges that will have to be looked after by us. Nursery schools are even more important. Character is formed before we reach the age of four or five. We have, therefore, to be very careful with our children at that age. The formation of character depends upon the parents, but as parents in our country seem not to be able to look after their own children very successfully, nursery schools are necessary. You will observe that children are very eager to attend well conducted nursery schools. In Western countries there has been a great advance in respect of these institutions, but much remains to be done in this direction in this country.

I do not very much like giving prizes to little children, for it is not possible to give prizes to every one of them and those who fail to win a reward will be sad. I hope that we shall some day abolish the system of prize-giving. It is affection that should be distributed to all the children, instead of prizes to some. I am very glad to learn that in the lowest class at least, all the children were given prizes.

XXII

THE FILTER OF TIME

GIRISH Chandra Ghose, whose 105th birthday anniversary celebrations it is my privilege to be associated with to-day, grew to his natural greatness as a playwright, poet and actor, having been saved, like Shakespeare, from the effects of contemporary educational instruction by being plucked in his Entrance Examination. Having escaped thus from what may be called the carpenter's treatment of dead timber, Girish Chandra grew like a living plant in continuous contact with those emotions and feelings of the people round him, from which spring the roots of all creative art. Last *Purnima* day they celebrated the Shakespeare festival at Stratford-on-Avon in the presence of representatives of forty nations, including India and Pakistan, and forty national flags were simultaneously unfurled in token of the world's homage to the great dramatist. But the British people do not stop there. Shakespeare festivals are held annually, but his works are also read and their spirit constantly absorbed by men and women. Let us honour the memory of Girish Chandra in that way. Let us in Bengal nurse and strengthen the stage for which he worked.

The cinema threatens to supplant the theatre. I am old-fashioned enough to prefer the theatre to the cinema. The cinema is related to the theatre very much as sleight-of-hand is related to industry. Legerdemain gives the thrill of a score of incongruous objects being produced from an empty hat but industry alone can manufacture articles for actual consumption. Preserve poetry, drama and the theatre. If we ponder deeply we can see at once that all that is most precious in our culture and civilisation is the work of such of our poets as Valmiki and Vyasa and Kalidas. Girish Chandra was also in a sense one of the founders of Indian national patriotism and it is my belief that if his plays of *Siraj-ud-dulla* and *Mir Kasim* could be put on the boards now and then, they would be productive of good in both Bengals.

A word to contemporary dramatists and poets. Do not complain that men come forward to honour writers after they die, but give little encouragement to them while they are alive. Time acts as a filter. The classics are respected because they have been tested by assay department of time. Writers should not lose patience with the contemporary public. Good writers will not go unappreciated.

XXIII

ADMISSION TO MEDICAL COLLEGES

THE days of martyrdom are not yet over, for the role of the martyr is not confined to politics alone. Approaching your work in that spirit, you will find great joy in it. I ask the medical students of this province to display the same courage, intrepidity and spirit of adventure, in the field of medical service, as have been shown by the young men and women of Bengal in politics. Infectious germs cannot be frightened into submission by propaganda. Newspapers might write tons and tons of columns against cholera and plague, but unless they actually got down to the doings of what was necessary to fight such diseases, they would achieve little. It is a great credit to the Campbell Hospital that in the present outbreak of plague they have been able to cure a remarkably large percentage of cases. This is a splendid record and one which doubtless go down into history.

In Law, Engineering and other such professions, men can do everything, without the help of women. But in the medical sphere it is impossible for us to do our duty by society unless we have an adequate numbut of Women Doctors and Surgeons. It is, therefore essential to the medical profession that facilities should be provided for the training of an adequate number of women.

With regard to the status of the so-called lower grades of men in the medical profession, I would venture to say that much more is learned from actual experience than from academic training. The sense of reality and the complete assimilation of knowledge can only come with genuine experience. The knowledge which is acquired by reading and oral means, is of an inferior type compared to that which is gained in actual practice. Those who have acquired experience, though in the lower ranks, often have greater knowledge than the young men who have gone through a higher academic course. The real problem, however, is what should be the stage of general education at which a student should turn over to a specialised professional course?

If a student failed in the entrance or intermediate examination and yet was admitted to the medical course, it would not be possible for him to acquire the same knowledge and equipment as can be imparted to well-grounded students. I hope, therefore, that no attempt will be made by popular leaders to reduce the standard of the general equipment necessary before students are admitted to a medical, or other professional training.

XXIV

A MOSAIC OF CULTURES

NOTHING beautiful can be accomplished without encountering difficulty. Where several cultures meet, difficulties have to be faced in the immediate present, because ultimately, a very beautiful result has to be produced. Different cultures meeting together create a certain amount of conflict, but once that conflict has been faced and overcome, the result will be more beautiful than if we had only one culture. It is only when different colours combine that woven cloth becomes beautiful. It is easy to weave cloth of one colour and difficult to bring different coloured yarns together to form a correct pattern, but the latter, when finished, is the more beautiful. So in course of time Kalimpong will become a more beautiful place than other and less fortunate places in India. Bengal, Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, Tibet and perhaps China also—will meet together in Kalimpong and are meeting even now. Later on, all these will combine and become as beautiful as a woven carpet.

Nothing can be produced without going through a great deal of trouble. We have attained independence in India after a tremendous struggle. While the struggle lasted there was a lot of misunderstanding, but now that independence has been achieved, every one can, and must, share in it as a matter of right. Those who struggled and made sacrifices for independence did so for the sake of the entire people of India and not for themselves. If those who struggled and made sacrifices for independence had told the people that they were doing it for themselves and not for others, Mahatmaji would never had led them and if those who made those sacrifices were now to claim special rights for themselves, I say it would be wrong. Whatever they did was intended for the benefit of all. They were like the cooks in a kitchen who cook not for themselves, but for the whole family. Supposing, after the dishes were ready, the cooks in a house said "We have cooked, we have sat near the fire, we must therefore eat the food ourselves and nobody else must come in"—it would be absurd. Mahatmaji was the Head Cook and the other cooks had promised him that the dishes would be given to the entire family. Therefore, friends, now that the dishes are ready, now, that is, that independence has been won, we must serve the dishes to all the people; we must see that independence is enjoyed by everybody. But if we quarrel with one another, how can we eat together? In order that we may sit down and have our feast—a precious feast—prepared with an amount of trouble, we must not quarrel with one another. Unless we accomplish this task of all of us becoming friends, independence will be of no use to us.

The British who were controlling and ruling have been saying for some time, "Unless you all come together we shall not go." That was what they were saying and if they had stuck to their posts and waited till all of us came together, we should have achieved general friendship as well as independence. But whatever the reason may be, they were in a hurry to go, and they left before we came together. They did well and justly in going away without waiting for us to unite, but we should be committing a gross folly if we do not gain by it and come together quickly. Therefore, friends in Kalimpong, all the communities here must look upon one another as being parts of one family, whatever their language and place of origin. If the simple people of Kalimpong can come together and become one body, they will have set an example to the whole of India. I do hope that you will carry out this plan and set that example.

You are living on the sacred breast of the Himalayas. In the whole of Hindustan there is nothing so precious, or so sacred as those mountains. All our wealth and all the wealth that comes out of the rivers in India originates from that range. Just think of it for a moment; all the rice that is produced in Bengal and all the rice and cotton that is produced in Sind and the Punjab are produced out of the waters flowing from the Himalayas. You are the children of such sacred mountains. Do not imagine that because you are the children of the *Pahar*, you are inferior to the lazy people of the plains. You belong to the mountains, and so are the favourite children of Gauri or Parvati. You should therefore look upon yourselves as superior, not inferior, to anyone else in the world. Do not copy the vices of the people of the plains. You might copy their virtues, if they have any. Be as cheerful as you have been throughout the centuries.

I come from the plains and I see cheerfulness shining in the face of every man, woman and child who belongs to the hills. God has made you in that mould of cheerfulness. Maintain it and do not give way to melancholy. You have simple habits, do not give them up and replace them by complications and troubles which can only lead you to misery. May the people of the plains copy your simplicity, not you their complexity. If the people of the plains wish to become wise, they must come to the hills and do *Tapasya,* and when they see your simplicity of life, thought and action, they will copy you and become wise simply by adopting your mode of life.

You are able to carry three times more weight on your backs than the people of the plains can carry with much difficulty. Do not think that it is more civilised to become weak. Keep strong, maintain your bodily health and continue to carry loads which other people cannot carry. When you send your children to school, do not allow them to cultivate habits of physical laziness. Make them do the work that they are doing now. Maintain your simplicity, your physical strength and your health. By all means become educated, but do not believe that education comes only through books. Very little comes by means of books and slates. Education comes through doing work. By all means learn to read and write and do arithmetic, but retain the ability to do all kinds of work.

XXV

FAREWELL TO BENGAL

YOU all know that I am very sorry to go away from Bengal. All my innocent friends are exhilarated by what may be called my promotion. When I was young I saw the joy of young men who were promoted from Rs. 25 to Rs. 50. All my dear friends feel something like that on my behalf now, when in truth I have been asked to take three charcoal bags on my shoulders instead of one. I am old and I have seen the reality of things. These offices have no pleasure-value either for oneself or for others.

I have amused myself in analysing the joy of my friends and have come to a conclusion which is entirely creditable to my British predecessors. The British Governors-General have accumulated an aura of power, prestige and awe round this office, and I am in the after-smoke of that previous tradition. Even after the fire goes out smoke fills the room and the present "Moha" about my Governor-Generalship is like the smoke left behind by the fire of the British Governors-General.

Now that we are independent and have our own Government, one or other among us must fill every office, from the highest to the lowest. There should, therefore, be no surprise when some one among our friends or relations becomes a peon or a scavenger or a Governor-General. What we must learn in independence is this, that the office of a scavenger is as noble as that of the Governor-General, always provided both serve the people. Suppose a boat is out on the waters after a shipwreck: some one among the crew must be the Captain and the rest must respect his orders. Our State is somewhat the same. One of us must take the Captain's place and the rest need not present him with an address.

I am not detracting from your kindness but I want you to realise how things stand. In the old days respect was associated with fear, and therefore was disagreeable. Hereafter we must learn to respect people with an affection which is devoid of fear.

I am very sorry to go away from Bengal, but when one is called upon to share the troubles of one's colleagues, one cannot refuse to do so. The independence of a nation so large and composed of so many elements, as is ours, is not easy to maintain. Even without taking Pakistan into account, how many troubles have started between one Province and another! All the difficulties which had been submerged, so to say, in foreign domination, are now free and roaming about and buzzing round our ears. Each province is thinking of food and clothing and territory in its own terms, and even in the same province district differs from district in its outlook. Liberty is not an easy thing and we must learn how to bear the burden, that is, liberty, before we can enjoy it. Nowadays everyone wants to become a leader and the smaller the circle round him, the easier does he feel it to become one. Therefore, we seem to be discovering greater and greater importance in the interests of narrower and narrower circles.

Leadership may be easier the narrower the circle of the following. But patriotic leadership must be based upon a broad outlook and not upon limited groupings. I tell you on behalf of my colleagues and without claiming any credit for myself, that those who are now in charge of the fortunes and administration of India deserve the fullest confidence and loyalty. No others can hold all the communities and provinces together as they do. I want you to give them the power and the opportunity for the next few years so that they may build up India once again. Ever since they took office, instead of finding themselves in an ocean of milk, they have found themselves in an ocean of trouble. Some of their difficulties have surpassed in magnitude and quality the difficulties which any statesmen in the world have had to face till now, yet they have withstood them well and we should be proud of our leaders.

Friends, let me tell you once again that I am sorry to go away from Bengal. It is not I who have become the Governor-General, but it is Bengal that has received the honour. Why have I been chosen to go to Delhi? It is because of my work in Bengal, and whose was the credit? It belongs to the people of Bengal. It is the culture and tradition of Bengal that have conquered the evil forces which were attempting to overwhelm the people. It is the culture of Bengal that overcame the difficulties we have had to face. If India is to be happy that same culture of goodwill and understanding should now prevail in Delhi. To you, the people of Bengal, belongs the Governor-Generalship. All of you cannot sit in Government House, Delhi, so I am going there on your behalf. If I am able to serve India from that place and if I am able to feel satisfied with myself in that work, I shall attribute my good fortune to you, my friends in Bengal.

The Dominion of India has now to be so closely knit together that this is no time to discuss the question of Provincial borders. Actually all provincial borders have been abolished and India is one. Until we are safe and sound and strong we cannot afford to quarrel with one another over matters which are essentially domestic. Whatever rights, whatever privileges we are having to postpone will not be lost. We shall get them all with compound interest. Rights which we claim from our friends can very well afford to wait, because from friends we can always get back our rights with interest and without deductions. We are not dealing with enemies, but with friends, and therefore we can afford to wait. If I am entitled to respect as a scholar, or by reason of any other qualification, and if I put it aside for the moment and observe humility, I shall get double respect in time to come. That with which we should now concern ourselves is how to make India strong, safe and happy, and when these objects have been achieved we can afford time to readjust the provinces.

From all over the world prayers and good wishes have been showered on me. If there is any spiritual force in the prayers and wishes of good men and women I may hope to be able to achieve something.

XXVI

WE HAVE CROSSED THE VALLEY

THE affairs of our State are at present so entangled that it is the height of temerity for one like me, at this period of my life, to accept an office, which, whatever be the present constitutional position, has been associated until this moment with the highest responsibility in the State. This historical association it is not easy for people to forget all at once.

The greatest expectations have been raised in the minds of good men all over the world who are interested in the progress and happiness of the people of free and independent India. When millions in this country and abroad are eagerly wishing for good and praying for it, God may grant their wish and use me as an instrument for the purpose. You will know what I want.

It is unthinkable that we should thoughtlessly allow our dear country to be plunged in civil strife again. Those of us who needed to see the horrors of civil strife in order to learn that civil strife is bad, have seen enough and more. Never again must we think of leaving any means unexplored by which peace and goodwill may reign and the women and children of our land be saved from again being exposed to the horrors of insane communal hatred. Man has a highly developed brain. He had learnt much. But when emotions are allowed to grow without restraint and to seize our mind, all reason, all good sense, all the lessons of experience are forgotten and we become no better than a pack of wild beasts.

We have potentialities for a splendid future. The resources of our country are fairly great. The level of culture and education to which the intelligentsia among our people have attained is also fairly high. Our traditions of culture and civilisation are of the highest quality. Therefore the potentiality of free India is great. If only we have peace India will soon become a truly worthy member of the community of free nations. The West has nothing but goodwill towards us and the East is united with us in indissoluble bonds of culture and faith and is feeling as intensely relieved at our independence as are we who have been released from bondage. All the peoples of the East are feeling relieved because the freedom of India is tantamount to the freedom of all South Asia.

Nothing will stand in the way of our glory except our own folly. May the Lord have mercy on us and save us from thoughtlessness. There are fools among all peoples who will shout about honour while urging their men and women to act recklessly. But thank God still we have men among us who can lead, and whose stature and wisdom are not inferior to the stature and wisdom of the great statesmen of the rest of the civilised world. God might have spared Gandhiji to us for just a few more years, so that we might have become fool-proof. But it has been decreed otherwise. All the greater will be the glory of the dear leaders who have been spared to us, and who are piloting our State

We need not worry as to what the other peoples of the world may be thinking or doing. It is only if we were to be engaged in an enterprise of a doubtful character that we should become anxious about propaganda. Our only problems are internal, and, God be thanked, we are surrounded with goodwill. All we must beware of is that we do not light the fires of thoughtlessness within the borders of our own country.

Whatever wrongs anyone in India feels, and whatever remedies we may want in order to set these wrongs right, let us make it an unalterable rule that we shall depend on nothing but persuation and a firm faith in the power of truth and time to rectify all wrongs. Any other policy will lead us to adventures wherein not only will the losses be great, but the gains will lose all their value on account of the means employed.

I have only one message, for you Hindus and Muslims of East or West Bengal—remember that I am a friend whom you can continue to trust. You have experienced the joys of peace and goodwill. Do not listen to foolish and wicked voices, but continue to foster goodwill in every possible way. Look forward, not backwards. I feel that we have crossed the valley and shall see better days. There was never any hatred in the hearts of our people and there is none now. There was fear, but it has greatly diminished. In more than one place the minorities have begun to feel confident about the government under which they must live. There are not wanting among us thoughtless men who find satisfaction in maintaining the fears of the minorities, but their influence has waned. There is a pride which makes people continue to utter outworn slogans, because to change them would mean a confession of error; but even that is melting.

May Gandhiji's memory ever be an inspiration to you all. His greatness reached its height in Bengal. May we do all we can to make and maintain Bengal as a monument to his great life.

XXVII

C. R. DAS AND ME

TO-DAY, on the eve of my departure, fall the anniversaries of both Deshbandhu Das and Acharya Ray. Thirty years ago I met Deshbandhu Das at a Congress subjects Committee Meeting in Bombay over which Hassan Imam presided, and that was before anybody had dreamt of the non-co-operation movement. He found me out and used me for the drafting of amendments for the modification of the moderate proposals favouring acceptance of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms which had been drafted by Malaviyaji. I was a comparatively young man then and was eager to make extremist proposals. Malaviyaji did not like my attitude and in order to keep me from mischief tried to keep me occupied in other ways. But Deshbandhu Das offered me a protecting hand and took me over to his own table. Long afterwards he reminded me of this incident.

The departed spirits of the dead are not very likely to take an interest in our continuing vanities. But if, on account of the enormous love they bore us, they still do, Deshbandhu Das's soul may be very much amused at my present pre-occupations.

Newspaper readers know that I differed from Deshbandhu in 1921, but they do not know the affection we had for one another. I remember when he came to Salem on a whirlwind propaganda tour for the Swarajist movement, everybody thought that he and I were on opposite sides. The air was thick with expectation, when, at the reception in the town hall, we surprised the crowd by embracing each other. Many of those present were moved to tears for they had begun to see that there is something greater than political controversy. I remember today with joy his remark on seeing my shaven head, "when did you become a Sannyasi?" Friends, I am in reminiscent mood and you must excuse me for indulging it on a solemn occasion such as this.

Those were days when Deshbandhu and other great leaders did not dream that there would be communal warfare in our country. We live in different times and must look back for inspiration to our departed leaders. All of us must disappear from the earth and our bodies be reduced to ashes, so that only our actions will remain. This is what the Rishis have sung and asked us to remember. We are wise and ignorant alternatively. One moment we think only of our wives and children, the next of our country. One moment we only remember our group and our community, the next the whole of our country. One moment we are narrow and selfish, another broadminded. Our minds go up and down like the wind-washed ocean. Nature works in that way.

Let us yield to the wind of patriotism and broadmindedness and at least on occasion, rise up. Let us not be like stagnant water in a pool. We are not heroes, but ordinary men. We may sometimes go down, but let us try to go up also and maintain an average standard of patriotism and civic consciousness.

Friends, we have gathered together to pay homage to the dead, but the dead demand a more real homage than can be paid in words. They want right action.

This memorial to Deshbandhu Das is too small. We want the whole of India to be Deshbandhu Das's memorial. We have to cleanse our hearts and work for that great memorial.

XXVIII

BOXING

THE enthusiasm for every kind of sport that I have seen in Calcutta is truly remarkable. Volley ball, football, athletic competitions, such as running, jumping, cycling, muscle-displays, bar-bending, chain-breaking, wrestling and the like, the noble sport of swimming, and last, but not least, boxing.

I have greatly enjoyed the sight of youth and its supporters and trainers displaying tremendous enthusiasm, while the general public has gathered to add to the scene a sense of pride and glory and an atmosphere of enjoyment and healthy encouragement. This is a daily sight in Calcutta the like of which I think is not to be encountered in other cities of India.

Boxing is good. It imbues the young soul with grit and courage and carelessness of pain and develops a watchful eye and an agile body. These are invaluable. Nevertheless, keep the proper balance. A religious spirit and nobility of conduct should be developed alongside good boxing. There is no contradiction in this. One helps the other.

XXIX

A PARTING APPEAL

IT is a sad thing, to part where love have united so happily. But are we parting? Even officially I shall continue in Bengal, which is included in India. Distance cannot put your affection out of my mind. I know I shall not be in as intimate contact with you as I have been these ten months. But if I have understood you aright, you will not forget me. I am sure you will think and do always as if I were still very near you. May I never hear anything unpleasant or sad about you. May God continue to look after you. Keep your hearts sweet and pure so that He may dwell therein.

Namaskar!

XXX

INTERDEPENDENCE

I AM very grateful to you all for your participation in this ceremony. Your presence has lifted the occasion out of the regions of mere formality to those of human fellowship and co-operation.

Speaking objectively, the occasion is undoubtedly historic, for this is the first time that one who belongs to the soil has, in accordance with the wishes of the Prime Minister of India and his Cabinet, been entrusted with the honour and the duties of the Head of the State in India. I owe a debt of gratitude which I cannot hope to repay, for the signal honour implied in this my installation. I hope I shall act on every occasion and in every matter, in a manner worthy of the trust reposed in me.

The work of my predecessor during his memorable terms of office was a marvellous instance of detachment, devotion and energy on the part of one who, though not belonging to India, worked as one who did belong to her, doing his work in the spirit that is laid down in our scriptures with regard to the task that falls to anyone. I come after him, but I hope I shall be judged by standards suitable to one who unlike my predecessor, is inexperienced both in arms and in diplomacy.

Our problems have multiplied beyond all expectation and are such as may perturb even the most adventurous spirits among us. The only remaining interest in life which moves those of my colleagues who have been entrusted with the care of the affairs of India, is the happiness of our people and the good name of our country. This is the passion that binds them together. They have experience and nobility of character. May God enable them to achieve the purpose so dear to their hearts. I shall be proud to render them all such assistance as I can.

Whatever be the technical phraseology which public law may use to describe it, what disturbs the peace of India now is nothing else but an internecine discord which is utter folly. Our economy has not yet had time to separate into the two parts corresponding to the political division to which we have agreed. It is very doubtful if it ever can be so split. We are far too interdependent and whatever we may do, there will still be vital links that can never be severed. It is absurd to quarrel and make into a scene of strife and misery that which has been shaped by the pressure of age-long forces into a field of beauty and joy. Let us pray for wisdom and let us do meanwhile what will make good thoughts grow, so saying them from being swamped by the folly and evil which waits to tempt mankind.

XXXI

FIRST YEAR OF FREEDOM

TO-MORROW—or rather at midnight to-day—we begin the second year of free India. Great have been our troubles after the undertaking of Independence. Insane riots and barbarities and the movements of masses of panic-stricken people who had left homes and their belongings threatened to put an end to all order and rule. The problems arising out of partition which had been created by the sudden break of the nexus that bound the Indian States with that Central authority to whom the people turned for the maintenance of social order and rule, have taxed and confounded the ability of the best of our statesmen.

It is easy to be wise after the event and to say that we should have anticipated and prepared for the misfortunes and complications that followed and that overwhelmed our people. But men of affairs throughout the world have not blamed us either for our failure to anticipate them, or for the way in which our Government has faced them. On the contrary, they have complimented us on the way in which we have handled the situation. They have not paid these compliments in order to flatter, for they are men who have seen trouble in other parts of the world and who have the experience to appreciate and judge fairly.

We have to a great extent succeeded in restoring order to replace the chaos which was produced by the doctrine of the lapse of paramountcy. Brave women workers have achieved the restoration to their homes of more than ten thousand Hindu, Muslim and Sikh women, who were victims of the riots. We have staved off famine and have kept industry going, in spite of recurring conflicts between labour and management.

But it is no good indulging in self-pity or self-praise. We have to overcome the impediments that still stand in the way of a better life for our people. We have to work for a higher civic standard and a higher standard of production. Character must be improved all round before fruitful work can increase. The only way to progress is to make conditions which will help to produce more honesty and more work.

The greatest of our misfortunes has been the passing away of Gandhiji. Those who killed him have done a greater injury to our country than have any other enemies of the State. He was snatched away from us when he was most needed.

We should, as far as lies in our power, do what Gandhiji earnestly believed we could. When any doubt or difficulty arises, private individuals and officials of all grades, as well as governments, should ask themselves what Gandhiji would have advised if he had been alive and they had gone to him for advice? It is not difficult for us to guess the course he would have advised. Let us follow that line honestly and prayerfully, and God will help us.

XXXII

MY EDUCATION

ALL this pomp and ceremony now being shown to me are homage paid to previous history, not to me. I know that the hearts of young and old in this country, here as elsewhere, find exhilaration in the thought that one of themselves should be the recipient of honours hitherto paid, uniformly and in full measure, to people from other countries. This gives you pleasure. Let me tell you that it gives me pleasure also, but of a very objective kind which may easily be mistaken for vanity on my part! But behind all this pomp and all this hospitality which His Highness and you have conspired to shower on me, and without in the least detracting from what it has hitherto been to successive Viceroys and Governors-General, I see something which, I am sure, was not there in the old days—affection.

I have to some extent been responsible for your feeling that I am one of yourselves. When I was young I came here from a neighbouring district and received my education under the care of your Maharaja and Government. I owe my body to my family but I owe what is still more precious, my mind, to the education that I received here. If I have served the country and if I have deserved all the kind things that you have expressed so beautifully in Sanskrit and Kannada, it is entirely due to the education I received in your State. I belong to a village which is less than five miles from your border. It was merely an accident that my village was torn off from this State before I was born. I belong to the same plateau on which you live and have grown up. I am, therefore, one of you and I can well understand your peculiar exhilaration at my having attained to a position which was occupied by Clive, Wellesley, Dalhousie and others. It is wonderful to think that what was once regretted has now become a cause for increased joy

We must deserve this good fortune. The country is free and your own State has now acquired democratic government. The beauty of this city is an example and inspiration to towns and cities all over India. I may say without hesitation, not as an old citizen of Mysore State, but as Governor-General and an objective judge, that Mysore is really the most beautiful city in India. I have been aware of this every minute of the time since I came here. In fact, I did not get good sleep last night because I was feeling I had just come back from a visit to Fairyland!

Patriotism must now be newly-defined and understood. In the olden days, it was just struggle and agitation. But now it is as hard as building a new house. It requires not only all the patience of a bricklayer, but something more. It requires not only all the skill of a good engineer, but something more. We have, therefore, to work hard. It was easy to take over power from His Highness, but it is difficult to realise the duties and to fulfil them.

XXXIII

DUTIES OF STUDENTS

HAVE you ever noticed, my young friends, how the bullocks which are yoked to a cart behave? They keep their eyes on the driver who has the whip or stick in his hand and they also keep them on the road. The eyes of the bullock do *Ashtavadhanam*. The bullock watches the slightest movement of the driver's stick, and at the same time watches for any trouble on the road, as well as going forward. Now our future democratic governments will have to emulate the vigilance and the *Ashtavadhanam* of these bullocks, the drivers being the newspapers and public opinion, both of which have got sharp goads in their hands. If the Ministers keep their attention on nothing but the driver and his tricks, they will miss their footing on the road. We two-legged animals can manage to go straight. The bullocks not only have four legs but have to keep all four of them going in unison and perfect co-operation with one another—rather a difficult task. Try to walk on all fours and you will soon see how uneven your gait becomes.

Now a Cabinet consisting of many Ministers, which is like an animal with many legs, is rather a difficult thing to manage. Do not envy the lot of Ministers. Do not think their task is easy and that they are possessed of a prize. They are just bullocks tied to the cart with a driver behind, goad in hand. Newspapers are very busy and sharp-tongued, while the Ministers have to stick to the road marked out by Mahatmaji and other leaders. They have to make progress and to achieve something in the way of more happiness for the people. I do not think, after this description of mine, you will envy the Ministers. Pray all day and all night that you will not become Ministers, but that you will remain free-lance journalists. Then you can write anything you like. Ministers are generally very unhappy people, but you can make them happy by co-operating with them. It is you young students, who will have to bear the burden in the coming years. We have lighted the torch and handed it over. You have to carry it.

Now tell me whether you mean to go on strike now and then, or whether you will continue preparing to be good citizens of the land without a break. Will you take over the question of whether a teacher is to be transferred, dismissed or promoted, and go on a small hunger-strike, which I know you will not maintain for more than three or four days? You will want somebody or other to send you a telegram: "For God's sake give up your hunger-strike," and then you will stop it. I have come here to tell you that I thoroughly disapprove of hunger-strikes. I do not want students to go in for any form of strike. The responsibility for managing is on Government, on the Department concerned and on the Professors and Principals. The business of students is to train themselves to become citizens without break and without interruption. Whether the methods followed are wrong, you cannot judge. Whether the professors are not competent, you cannot judge. The sin is on their heads if they go wrong, but your duty is to go on with your preparation without a break. Freedom having come, democracy having come, the only problem hereafter is to become good citizens.

You cannot become good citizens if, during your youth, you begin to think of other people's problems. The citizen in a good State always thinks of his own duties and not of the errors committed by other people. Mysore has become part of the Indian Union. Do not imagine that the responsibility of the people of Mysore has been diminished thereby. It has increased. You have to look after Mysore, as well as the rest of India. Patriotism is a mere word unless you realise the full meaning of it. Patriotism consists hereafter in work—honest, coordinated work. It does not consist in shouting or singing songs. To realise patriotism you have His Highness the Maharaja as a symbol. You cannot realise God if you reject the idol which you have always associated with God. The Maharaja symbolizes all the duties which citizens should remember and fulfil towards the State as a whole. The more complex the State becomes, the more necessary it is to have a symbol of that kind.

Democracy all the world over has set up various symbols. Look at me. Why am I Governor-General? Constructive patriotism in Free India requires a symbol as Head of the State and you must look upon that symbol, whether it is made of brass, wood, clay or human flesh, with awe, devotion and love. I have claimed this incidentally for myself but my main purpose to-day has been to claim it on behalf of His Highness the Maharaja. I want the students of the Maharaja's College to look upon their college as their mother and the Maharaja as their Father. Let me tell you that if you regard your symbol properly, and genuinely, everything will turn out well. You cannot be loyal to His Highness the Maharaja and commit any offence, private or public. Loyalty to His Highness, like loyalty to His Majesty the King for the British citizen, will protect the citizen in all his duties and in all his efforts on the road of patriotism. He is the symbol of patriotism in Mysore, and freedom having come, our loyalty has to be all the greater. Otherwise freedom will go to pieces. It will dwindle and deteriorate into intrigue if you do not keep your devotion to His Highness at a high level.

India is free. Somebody has to be Governor-General. There is nothing very great in somebody becoming Governor-General. Being the first Indian to occupy the place, I must make you feel somewhat like a crowd that watches the mango trick performed by a juggler. From out of Free India, an Indian has come as Governor-General and you are all exhilarated. I too am exhilarated by the feeling that I am able to command so much affection from you all. Your affection is to me simply a symbol of the complex thing called patriotism. I want all you students to remember your duties towards the State. Do not pull a long face over it. Do not become melancholy. The task is easy, because it is natural. You are the children of the land and the duties are natural duties which you are bound to perform if you are straight. There is no difficulty about it. Try to cultivate an outlook of joy towards everything. Do not try to recapitulate in your drama, or play, or song, all the troubles through which we have gone. We cannot live an old tragedy hereafter. We have to live on the prospect of joy and happiness. As an old man, I bless you all. Do not allow yourselves to be wicked, whatever the provocation may be. Thank you very much.

XXXIV

THE HEAD OF OUR STATE

FOR a long time we failed to see Bharat Mata though she was all about us. Gandhiji taught us how to see her, but he has gone away a little too prematurely for us to be able to learn the lesson fully. To see Bharat Mata, we must be industrious in our habits, and wise in our activities. If you go to a temple and your character is not good you will only see stone and not God. In order that your eyes may see God, your character must be upright. Bharat Mata is no different from God. If we want to see the real Bharat Mata, we shall have to be upright in our conduct and good in our minds.

We have won freedom, but we have not yet learnt how to be free. It seemed easy to be loyal to British authority, but it seems difficult to be loyal to the authority of our own democracy. We shall have to study hard in order to learn to pay the same respect to the authority and prestige of democracy as we used to pay to a single foreign authority. But I am hopeful, because I see that you treat me with more affection than you ever gave to a foreign Governor-General. I had thought that being an Indian, being one of you and having all the defects which you know I have, you will not treat me with the same respect as you showed the Marquesses and Earls who have filled this office before me. I am glad, not because I am tickled by your flattery, but because it gives me hope that you will show the same respect to those whom democracy places in authority.

An ordinary merchant, who is conducting some small retail trade to-day, may be made President of the Indian Union to-morrow. The moment he is in office, you must look upon him as the President of the State and not remember his old occupation. The clay, the earth upon which you are walking, can be made into Sri Ganesh and people fall prostrate before it. After the worship is over, they throw the clay into the water. We make Ministers. You must respect them as you respected the great officers who preceded the Ministers. The Ministers are Ganesh. If we do not worship Ganesh, our State will crumble to pieces. May Ganesh give us the wisdom to learn how to obey, maintain order and support democracy.

There is no country which can be governed more easily than India, because no force is necessary. You have only to appeal to our tradition and our culture. All the great old Kings of the past—Janaka and Sri Ram—are still alive and governing our hearts. I am not the Governor-General, Sri Ram is the Governor-General. Always treat my office with respect.

XXXV

UNITY IN DIVERSITY

LANGUAGE presents a great difficulty. Our country, in addition to having the normal difficulty of all languages, has the additional difficulty of having too many languages. But it is difficulties that finally contribute to making our victory more glorious.

I do not believe that you would admire a garden which contained only one type of flower. We have in India a variety of languages which, provided we know how to be good gardeners, will ultimately make for beauty. The sectional gardener who is in charge of one particular type of plant is likely to become a fanatic, but the supervisor should retain a broad outlook.

The cowherd may say that only grass is important and that trees and flowers might as well be ploughed up for pasture. The goat-herd may like leafy plants instead of grass. The horticulturist, again, may ask for foreign plants. But a variety of things are necessary in order to make the garden beautiful. In India, we have many languages and I hope that all the efforts of Mr. Sampatgiri Rao and my own, put together, will not diminish. Even though we serve Hindustani with all our hearts, we must also remember our own mother-tongue. We must serve

Hindustan, but we must not forget our own village. I say this so that Kannada patriots here may know that I understand their minds as well.

At the same time, while we look after our village, we must remember the State as a whole. Otherwise, the village will be carried away by vultures. We should first and foremost have care and anxiety for our own local language. But India as a whole is a very large country and we are obliged, not only to move from one part of it to another, but to understand and work among all kinds of people. Our bullock-carts cannot go to every part: we must go by train. In the same way, our local language alone will not do. We must have a good command of Hindustani, which is the popular all-India language. If the war had gone on a little longer, many of our people, having served in the army, would have learnt Hindustani. Go to any film producer and ask him from which language he gets the best return. The cinema man knows that Hindustani is the language of India.

We in the South have one great advantage over the people of the North, for there they are still quarrelling as to whether the script should be Hindi or Urdu. In the South we need have no such quarrel. We may write Hindustani in Devanagari or Kannada, as we choose. But we should all learn Hindustani. That is the railway train which will take us in the field of language all over India. Compulsion is unpleasant and if anybody does not like Hindustani, let him not learn it. But if you have any interest in your children and are concerned about their future, teach them Hindustani. If, on the other hand, you are concerned with quarrels and controversies, do *not* teach them Hindustani.

Patriotism and civic duty may be difficult to inbibe, but self-interest is easy to understand.

In India we want not only railway trains, but aeroplanes. To give an inapt figure of speech, take it from me that English is the air-line all over India. To go on the ground at lower levels all over the country, you must know Hindustani. If you want an immediate and speedy means of communication over the higher levels all over India, do not neglect English. If you want to be isolated in your own village, you need not learn Hindustani. But if you wish to serve through India as world citizens hereafter, you will not only have to learn your own language, but Hindustani and English also. You do not have to give up English because the English have gone. When the British left, did we pack up the Railway engines and send them along with them? You have the railways and the telegraphs. You have kept the courts and the English law because they help us. Keep the English language going also. It is more important than the Railways and Telegraphs.

A word to those who work in this field. Those who preach and teach Hindustani should not go about their work in a spirit of arrogance, but of caution and wisdom. In my opinion our languages in the South have richer and more beautiful literatures than has Hindustani. Take up the cause of Hindustani, therefore, without wounding the feelings and pride of those who are interested in their own languages. Let us use railway carriages without loosing our respect for the bullock-cart. As soon as you get out of the railway carriage, you need the bullock-cart to help you on. Therefore I warn all who are here to be wise and humble. I lay the foundation-stone of Hindi Prachar Samiti with pleasure. It is not merely a Hindi Prachar Samiti; it is a foundation for the unity of India.

XXXVI

THE ART OF LOVING ONE ANOTHER

YOU are now in the happy position of being able to claim that women's education is very much cared for in the State of Mysore. An educated girl is an educated mother, whereas educated boys are just educated boys. The education given to boys is ultimately given to some employer, or to some Government department. An educated girl becomes a member of a small school in her own home. The education we give to girls is a much better investment than that which we give to boys.

I am sorry to appear to detract from the value of boys, but if you listen to me you will be trying to rise to the level of the girls. Young men who have received an education should make it their duty to devote time to the education of their children. Men are sometimes very loyal and well-behaved in office, but lose their tempers and quarrel with everybody when they get home. If you wish your education to bear fruit, you must look upon the upbringing of your children as a religious duty, which to some extent relieves the labour of the school-master. By teaching your children yourself, you will be learning a little more. When you begin to teach somebody, you learn a great deal more yourself. Do not entrust your children's education entirely to their teachers.

It gives me greater pleasure to see you all, than it gives you to see me. I more and more see the need for human affection. Nothing will save the world except human affection. I hope you will all cultivate it and not consider it irrelevant to intellectual progress. Unless you succeed in developing human affection, our country cannot be happy. You may learn a lot of geology, biology or chemistry, but try to perfect the art of loving one another. Then everything will be all right in the family and in the world.

You must strive to make the mother country more glorious and to assist the Government in getting things done properly. Democracy demands co-operation from all, including students. Let me give you this parting thought. Now that India is free, now that Mysore is a part of the Indian Union, there should be no more strikes in schools, colleges or anywhere else. Do not go on strike. Solve everything by persuasion. We cannot afford to lose time. We must work without ceasing and the man who indulges in strikes is a traitor to the country's cause. From now on everybody must do his work and produce something for the common good of the country.

As for you girls, do not be too proud because of what I have said. Do not neglect the duties of the family to which you belong. One half of the work in the State is done by the mothers and sisters in the home. Unless you look after the family properly. children will not become good citizens and India will grow not better, but worse. It is for this reason that women may be said to be doing the more difficult part of the work.

XXXVII

FREEDOM AN OPPORTUNITY

THE freedom that we have secured, as I never tire of explaining, is only an opportunity, and not an end in itself. It is like day-break calling us to our duties. Unless we perform our duties, freedom by itself can mean nothing. It means hard work. It means that we should control our feelings and put aside old passions, which is even harder.

You have achieved freedom. If you go to sleep over that freedom, not a tortoise, but misfortune will overtake you. If, under freedom and our own democratic government, we fail to achieve things and make people happy, we cannot write about our failures in the newspapers, or agitate in the international press. It is therefore necessary that we should produce results. Common folk may think that this is the business of government. But it is not possible to achieve happiness under a democratic government unless everyone combines to work hard, each in his own sphere. Every home, street, town and city is a part of the same single machinery which is intended to produce happiness in the country. It is not only Ministers who are responsible for producing results. The people are also responsible. Criticism alone will not produce good government, but co-operation can.

People in Northern India believe that the people of the South are very intelligent, while in the South, the Tamil people think that the Kerala people are intelligent. Let us assume all these superstitions to be true. What follows? If in Travancore, which is in the southernmost part of South India, you do not derive the essence of human happiness from this freedom, then self-government, freedom and responsible government are all disproved. You will have to go back to authoritarian rule and guidance from above instead of from below. It is your duty, therefore, to show that freedom and responsible government can produce people's happiness. It requires experience, restraint, intelligence and hard work and is not to be achieved by slogans or in haste. If you are in a hurry to get things done, there is the danger that nothing will be done satisfactorily. You have to be restrained, to co-operate with one another and never to be jealous of one another.

I speak so much about jealousy, because that is the bane of party government. Jealousy is natural and is an incentive to work. Nature has implanted it in us. But we must not allow the fire to burn down our house. It must be used to cook our food. If we allow an all-consuming jealousy to burn us up, then everything is lost. Self-government can only operate through the few whom we choose. This is a method that has all the advantages both of responsible and authoritarian government. But if we lose ourselves in confusion, we can only get chaos. We require stable governments and sufficient time for stable governments to operate. We require patient helpfulness and not acrimonious warfare, either in the press or on the platform.

We have not yet learnt the technique of creating and developing trust. We have to trust people, to understand people and to create trust in people and to do these things we have to use such tools and machinery as are available. They cannot be done by new Ministers unless you give them time. Everywhere in India this is the trouble. But everywhere in India I have also found that Ministers learn very quickly, because learning is very natural and easy. Everybody learns to do things. Do not be impatient and all will be well.

Let us forget the idea of paying homage to Mahatmaji without doing what he desired us to do. I am not asking you to do the impossible. When doing a thing, ask yourselves, whether you be individuals or government, workers or managers, if that was what Gandhiji would have you do. You can surely guess what it would be, though his personality is absent and his winsome smile is no longer there. Now that he is gone, act as you know he would have advised. This is not impracticable. It is something which can be practised everyday. If you do that, Mahatmaji will still be a living force.

XXXVIII

SOCIAL SERVICE

THAT which can be done by law, administrative orders or force, may be left to Government. But a family requires not only a father but a mother. Just as a family is guided by the authority of the father, and by the indescribable force called the mother's affection, which is also necessary for the happiness of the family, in a State, without trying to make the analogy too perfect, all the social service organisations conducted by well-intentioned men and women and especially women, are in the position of the mother. The poor people in the country, those who are oppresed and those who are at a disadvantage, require not only laws, regulations and monetary help, but a mother's affection, in the first place to soothe and in the second, to relieve distress. These things cannot be done by Government organisations.

Even if all the social organisations were to be clubbed together into an official federation and an expert honorary non-stipendiary officer were appointed to look after it, the ways of Government would not suit a problem which requires something other than mere orders and regulations. For the solution of it demands affection, and for that reason every government in the world, even including that most perfect of all governments in regard to social affairs, the Soviet Republic, depends upon non-official voluntary service of a kind such as the one under whose auspices I have the privilege of speaking today. There may be Government help. The Governor's wife may be the moving spirit in it. There may be grants, there may be inspection and so on, but the moving force must be the urge in the human mind to help people in distress, the urge that I began by speaking of as a mother's affection.

No one is more aware than I of the fact that it is not possible to help everyone who is in distress by means of voluntary social service. We just touch the fringe of the matter. As our Indian proverb says, it is a drop of asafoetida in the ocean! Still, asafoetida is required in our preparations, though we use very little of it. I do not, therefore, want you to make light of voluntary effort. It is true that the Secretary of a voluntary organization may be dressed in beautiful clothes. It does not mean that her heart is not equally dressed in pity and sympathy. I am aware of the general criticism that is made of fashionable women who help the poor. It may happen that a Collector's wife may be very charitable while a poor man's wife is not. Poverty does not necessarily make people charitable. I do not blame the poor. But is it not right that we should encourage sympathy and charity to become the fashion? Let us then make it fashionable in truth. There is no necessary connection between ragged clothes and a fondness for social service. The moral is only this. Let us not make light hearted comments and by so doing discourage people from undertaking social service. Everyone is entitled to seek an outlet for the urge of affection which God has placed in every human being—sometimes it may be suppressed, sometimes it may find free expression. Therefore all these organisations require the encouragement of the newspapers, of public men, of Government and of those individuals who pass comments on others without doing anything themselves. All these things are necessary and I am very glad to know that in Free India there will be more and more of these organizations.

Do not think that social service work was a peculiarity of old Government House manners. Let me tell you that the new Government House will go on doing the same thing and that every man will do more hereafter in that direction than he ever did before. Our new Government in Free India will want the services of the existing and even more. It will require them to work harder and they will be bound to do so. Look at this organization. It was doing plenty of work before, but after the 15th of August it increased its work, widened its scope and took in more people. The Dewan Bahadur is not a fashionable young person hovering about Government House. Why has he joined this organization? Because that is the urge of the New India. Almost everyone will join this organization. Let all the organizations, the aim of which is to be charitable and to help people in their difficulties, work together. I am here, friends, as the official representative of Free India's new Government, to say that all these social service organizations are most welcome to the Government, and that everything possible will be done to help them in their work.

XXXIX

MESSAGE OF MAHATMA

IT is a convention that when you are unveiling a picture you should say how very good a likeness it is. It may be a very good likeness in this case also, but I have not the heart to look at the picture, let alone to judge it. It may not be considered the right thing to talk like this when one is given the honour and privilege of unveiling a portrait of a great man. But as it is my habit and conviction to speak frankly, exactly what I feel, I am telling you what I feel.

It pained me to be asked to unveil a portrait of Mahatma Gandhi. When the Speaker asked me to do this, it pained me also to wrangle with him. I did not wish to say 'no', because he might not understand my feelings. He would say that I was trying to be humble or modest. I am not sure whether you all feel as I do. Do you find satisfaction in having had Mahatma Gandhi's picture painted and kept here? Can you see the man in it? I cannot. I do not see the man, because the man was very different from all these pictures. So friends, I am not indulging in the conventional appreciation which is usual on such occasions.

It is worthwhile, however, to have a symbol. And that is what these pictures are for they are not likenesses. Mahatma Gandhi asked the people to boycott the Assembly and later on, he asked them to enter it, but he did not regard the two attitudes as contradictory. When the time came for legislative work to be undertaken, he said they should go into the Legislative Assembly, but that was not to say that he believed that the world would be made happier by legislative assemblies. He himself never thought that he was good enough to be a member of a Legislative Assembly, although, from my intimate knowledge and detached observation, I can tell you that he would have been as good a member as any of us, if not better. Let me add, however, that such work had no great attraction for him.

Why then is his picture here? There is an appropriateness, because you are law-makers. You make laws from time to time. You make laws by reading the newspapers every day, gauging public opinion, addressing election meetings and asking people what they desire. Earnest men who serve in the legislature, make laws by that inner sense of right or wrong which pervades their beings. Whatever the context, or proposals, they have in the end to go through this test in their own minds, "Does this proposal fit in with the pattern of law in the abstract and not merely law with a capital 'L'?" Law in the abstract is what you have in your mind. In our own phraseology you call it Dharma. You must make laws which are consonant with Dharma. Mahatmaji is a symbol which you should keep before you whenever you make laws. If you think that this picture will help you to make laws in that manner, it is worthwhile having it here.

At this distance, even forgetting my personal feeling, it is difficult for me to be able to judge the picture for the garlands with which it is adorned. I am told by the Speaker that it is very good. But at this distance, the mike through which Mahatmaji is represented as speaking seems to be a symbol of the latter half of his life when he invariably used a loud-speaker to enable his feeble voice to be heard by those about him.

Let me tell you that Mahatmaji, the exponent of the ancient spinning wheel, the so-called enemy, as some people believed, of time, of the machine and of advancement, was not really an enemy of advancement or of the machine. He was the enemy of the machine when the machine became the master and man became its slave. As long as the machine served man, Gandhiji loved the machine, as he loved anything that served man. So Gandhiji did not wish to do without the loud-speaker, indeed he used it quite often. I wish he had lived to use it until all our work was done, but when, on January 30, he was about to use the loudspeaker, his life was cut off and he parted company with us.

Let people think that Mahatmaji is not only speaking through the mike to vast audiences, but that he is putting forward a plea for a continuous and honest endeavour. He wanted people to work. Work is the only thing by which man can justify his existence. He must work and produce and it is only then he has a right to live. He has to work honestly and without caring for personal advantages. He has to work in a detached way. That was Bapu's doctrine, the doctrine of the *Gita* and of all the other scriptures of the world. Mahatmaji came in our time to impress that doctrine on us. To work in a detached way and not to remain idle, is, in short, Gandhiji's plea.

I hope that the members of the Legislative Assembly will draw that lesson from this picture.

In the old days some of my colleagues used to spin *Takli* in hand, while the Speaker looked on at them severely as they did it. Of course, the Speaker might well have said that the members were there to debate and not to spin yarn, but one thing that we in Free India must remember is that we should not misunderstand one another. We should work hard to overcome prejudice and to spread love. That also is Mahatmaji's doctrine. His great desire was that we should understand and work for this country. I can do no better—you can do no better—than to preach this doctrine wherever possible and to make it go down into the hearts of the people and not merely to remain an empty word without real meaning. We must not misunderstand one another. If we want our villages to be happy and our province to be happy, we must get away from the habit of misunderstanding one another and get into the habit of understanding one another. God is in everybody's heart. Everybody will be kind and loving if only you will love and be kind.

We do not know the mystery of life, or how God works. But I know this, that if you love a man, he returns the love without feeling it to be an effort. Try it and you will succeed, as you all believe that I have succeeded in Bengal. I succeeded because I loved everybody and everybody loved me. If you want to be loved in the world, try hard to overcome prejudice and to extend your genuine affection to those around you. So will you make the world happier. If I failed to say this on this occasion, I should not be true to the picture.

XL

DISTINCTIONS AND DIVISIONS

MANY are the movements which have been inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi in this country. Some of these have fared very well and some not quite so well, while a few have flagged and even faded away. The movement for Harijan uplift has gone on from strength to strength. It is being carried on with enthusiasm. I am very happy that it is so, for Harijan uplift is no easy work, especially in South India. But by God's will and His Grace it has succeeded well. We did not expect so much success, but God so directs things that sometimes where success is expected, failure results, and where great difficulties are expected, things prove easy and lead to success.

Not a little of the success that has attended this institution is due to the tireless energy and enthusiasm of those engaged in the work. People who meet Mr. Bhashyam Iyengar for the first time are apt to be misled by his appearance. They imagine that he is a rigid Sanatanist and that it is impossible that he can be associated with the uplift of the Harijan. There seems to be a notion that it is only those who have given up wearing on their face the *namam, vibhuti* or other marks, who will take to this kind of work, but those who entertain this notion have not understood the true significance of these marks. In fact they are but symbols of the yearning and inner urge in one to come close to God. Westerners sometimes speak of these marks as 'Caste marks' which indicate caste distinctions. That is not true. In fact, men of whatever caste among the Hindus, wear *namam* or *vibhuti* alike, according to whether they are Vaishnavites or Saivites. These marks only indicate the desire in one to get near to God. Therefore, I would request you on this occasion not to look on them as denoting high or low caste, or to be frightened by the *namam* on the face of a man, or confused by the absence of any such mark on mine. You must keep your minds clear about things and avoid misunderstandings, needless prejudices and worry, for it is from those sources that our misfortunes spring.

Ours is a vast land and our community is a vast one. Our characteristics—our strengths as well as our weaknesses—are proportionately phenomenal. We have great patience but we sometimes exhibit immense anger and passion. We are capable of great effort, but, like *Kumbhakara,* we also succumb to great lethargy. We rise to great heights of nobility but also fall a prey to grievous misunderstandings. We are capable of the highest philosophy and devotion to God, but also of great cruelty to our fellow men. It is essential that we should learn to bear ourselves in a way that will take us forward to progress and strength.

We should bear in mind that so long as distinctions remain, these institutions and the need for such institutions will continue. It is necessary, however, that after we reach a certain stage of progress, we should discard these adventitious aids. The dependence on such institutions should cease after a certain stage. It is something like stopping the administration of medicine to a sick man when he reaches a particular moment in his cure and allowing him to recover health and strength naturally, without the aid of drugs. The next step will be to get the patient to see that he no longer needs the aid of medicine in order to regain his health. We must make people forget distinctions in the same way as it is necessary to make a patient forget his illness after a particular stage. The efforts to induce that confidence must continue.

The water of a lake is for the good of the cultivators. The lake may be imagining that the gathering waters are for its own benefit; but when the water rises, it becomes necessary for the lake to disgorge it. That is the natural law. Like the lake, men who have amassed wealth should give freely of it for the benefit of others. Let no one therefore cast angry looks at the wealthy. If we are patient, we shall find that the wealthy will themselves come forward to distribute their possesions for the public good.

The cause with which this function is connected is a very just one. I hope this institution will prosper. I thank the organisers for the opportunity they have given me of being associated with this function. I know what I have laid to-day is not the real foundation. The stone I laid to-day merely symbolises a foundation that has already been laid deep and strong. I hope that in your hearts the foundation is now also laid of goodwill for this institution. I once again thank you all.

XLI

THE EAGERNESS OF GIRLS

THERE is so much eagerness for education now amongst our womenfolk that even if we had ten more Ethirajs, the needs of women's education would still be unsatisfied. I do not think that boys are half so studious as girls. Girls give an extraordinary amount of concentration to that which they take up. Perhaps girls have a natural advantage over boys, because the Goddess of Learning is a woman. Those of our people who framed our legends and mythology, knew these things very well. They knew that learning is best looked after by womenfolk. The mother looks after the family, thereby bringing up, so to say, the seed. Men are busy with what has been produced, but the mother must conserve the seed in good condition. Therefore the family which has to preserve, carry and transfer culture to the next generation, is looked after by the mother, and the mother is looked upon as Saraswati.

Do not quarrel over methods of education. All work stops when we launch a controversy. Nature is so strong that, whatever may be the method, nature will look after herself and girls will grow up successfully, whether you teach them through English, Tamil or even Egyptian. Minds will grow and nature will not be defeated by any error on the part of mankind. Do not, therefore, waste your time in controversies. Carry on with your work in the College. Let girls remember that knowledge is not an end in itself. As soon as they get the requisite satisfactory minimum of knowledge, they must marry and look after their families

XLII

PROVING BY DEATH

IN a free country, colleges produce leaders, for there is no antagonism now between education and patriotism. In the old days, the Government was different from the people and education had to serve Government first and patriotism only incidentally and as a by-product. Now this is a factory for patriotism, pure and simple—not patriotism of a vaporous type, but patriotism, if I may say so, that is solid and substantial. Hereafter, if you get a hundred boys out of the College, eighty of them must be fit for public service, whether as legislators or leaders of the people. One of them may even have to be ready to become Governor-General. All our education must be directed towards producing this result.

Let not boys rack their brains about the method of education that will produce these results. The great author of *Alice in Wonderland* has told us that if a centipede begins to think which foot should go first and which next, it will never proceed at all. You are like the hundred legs of the centipede. Do not think of methods, but get all you possibly can out of the excellent institutions which have been left for us. Many institutions have been left to us by the people who preceded the present Government. The Loyala College is one of them. We must preserve it properly. Do not waste time on the changing of names. Remember that Loyola is a great name and that if only you succeed in producing a hundred Loyolas every year it will be a remarkable thing for India.

It gives me great pleasure to unveil this fine portrait, which will remind you for all time of the man who was held in deep regard by millions, not only in India, but all over the world. Life in these days is very difficult. Even such a good man as Gandhiji had actually to die before he could get all men to believe him. Until the moment of his death, although millions of people loved him, a few had not been really convinced by him. They were doubting him but, like a miracle, the moment he died all the people who disbelieved him, wept for him as with one voice.

This goes to show that in these modern, complex days, people demand the extreme form of truth—truth that kills the thing which is itself truth. We cannot prove ourselves unless we die. That is a thing that makes us sad, but let us be proud that here in India, we had one who was able to prove himself in that supreme manner.

XLIII

DAILY CONDUCT

CLUBS in India should be places where you can develop good manners and forget differences in politics and other controversial matters. In these days everything is controversial—social reforms are controversial, even language has become controversial. All those differences must be put aside. We must have one spot where all men who claim to be enlightened and who have leisure, can meet together and overcome the various prejudices which are generated in the course of their daily work.

In the days when I was one of the campaigners in politics, a feeling was abroad that Clubs were on the whole useless and that their members were not doing useful work. While everybody else was anxious and busy, these people played Bridge, chatted without serious purpose, wasted time and, above all, considered themselves very important. That was the feeling when I was an active politician; not that it was my feeling, but it was the feeling of the people working in the field I was engaged in.

As has been found by man's experience as recorded in the Old Testament, the stone that is considered the least fit may prove to be the corner-stone of the structure that is to be raised. To-day, institutions like yours and Clubs where there are no politics, have become most important for the cultivation of social unity, harmony and strength, all of which now that we have attained freedom, are the things for which we should campaign. The present times are such that we must make this a campaign. It is not enough merely to recognise the value of harmony. We have to work very hard for it. As politics were important before 1947, so is harmony important now. It is the one thing for which men like Gandhiji have worked. Freedom having been achieved, we have to work hard for that harmony, without which we cannot find happiness in this country.

Where can harmony be generated? Not in the Legislative Assembly, not in the newspaper offices, not in the bazaars and not even, perhaps, in lonely temples, where people isolate themselves from one another, but in clubs, where all kinds of persons meet and sit together. Therefore, institutions like your Club are really Temples of Harmony. There is a great mission for institutions like this and that mission is the cultivation of good understanding, good fellowship and the great art of forgetting differences. I am obliged to say something serious, and I hope it will find a response in your minds. Whatever avocation, whatever work you may have outside, when you come to the club for relaxation remember what I have told you. Even in the process of relaxation you are fulfilling a sacred duty towards the motherland. Try to cultivate friendship where it appears to be difficult and try to cultivate intimacy where it appears almost impossible. Become friends with one another and do not, as the proverb says, flock together with birds of the same feather, but with birds of different feathers and in so doing cultivate the harmony that is so necessary for our country.

Do not make a distinction between public speeches and private conversations. That distinction must be thrown aside. In private conversation we must observe the same caution and the same sense of discipline as we do in public. These are the secrets of daily conduct which may look very new, but are not really so. This is the lesson I have received from Mahatma Gandhi. That which is right, is right under all conditions. Let me descend to the particular from the general. When you sit round a Bridge table, do not say things which you would not like to say in public. Every drop of water goes to the making of the sea. In the same way every whisper, every conversation, every private talk, goes together to make the national life. Let us purify our national life. Let us combine to lighten the burdens the leaders are bearing on their shoulders, here or in Delhi. All those who have taken the responsibility for making people a little happier, look to you for assistance and you help them.

XLIV

MULTIPLICITY OF FAITHS AND LANGUAGES

THERE is a tendency in progressive political circles, as well as among educationists, to seek to make anything that is good and useful a compulsory part of youth's educational course. I should like, on this occasion, to express my doubts in respect of this tendency. The idea that education should cover all useful fields of equipment is futile and erroneous. The limitations of time and immaturity should be kept in mind, and more time should be spent on evolving the capacity to acquire knowledge and to think aright, than on substantial equipment straightaway.

The pressure of too many subjects is not a good thing for the young brain. On the other hand, it is only when the brain is young that the capacity to think aright can be developed and correct methods of work implanted. To give an example, I would point out that history cannot be understood by boys and girls who have not seen or experienced much of life and its problems. The brain is a machine which should be properly assembled and adjusted during youth. Once this is done, it will take care of itself and plenty of time lies ahead for the acquiring of information in all branches. The stress during youth should be on training, on creating a habit of correct observation, of scientific curiosity, and of thinking aright and not on cramming the brain with information.

The aim of education is that the pupil should acquire an automatic appreciation of values, moral and other. We do not desire to produce indoctrinated minds. That is not the democratic ideal. Totalitarians may wish to give a twist in a planned direction while the mind is young, but our aim should be to produce a free and faithful intellectual and moral apparatus, rather than to give pre-arranged twists.

Again, it should be remembered that that which is compulsory automatically induces distaste. If you wish boys and girls to develop a permanent and unreasoning dislike of anything, make that subject compulsory. If you wish that they may develop a willingness and a capacity to appreciate good literature such as the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, or Shakespeare, or the Bible, for God's sake, I would say to the educationists, do not make the study of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* or of Shakespeare or the Bible, compulsory in the school. The lessons of both child psychology and human psychology are that mandatory and compulsory direction produces a contrary and rebellious tendency. The conditions for assimilation should be produced, and there should be no compulsion. Youth should be helped, to choose good things for itself rather than be forced and drilled.

Therefore I would suggest to educationists that less stress should be laid on examinations and more on opportunities for study and assimilation. The examination is the most bitter part of compulsion. It creates an incurable tendency towards superficiality and a paradoxical condition wherein a certain degree of equipment and dislike go together. Once the examination is over it leaves in the successful candidate a distaste for further advance.

If the standard of attainment is better in any field in foreign universities than in India, it is not due to stiffer examinations or to superior talents. It is the result of a greater voluntary exertion on the part of teachers and pupils born of a love of the thing itself and better facilities for study and research, rather than of any stricter or better system of examinations and rejections. It is the result of a condition of things in which aptitude and love of subject, rather than irrelevant ambitions and prospects of career and employment, guide the students in their choice of studies.

There are two problems which are the cause of great worry to our educationists, that of religious and moral instruction in a land of many faiths and that arising out of a multiplicity of languages. Taking the education of children, we see that they should be trained to love one another, to be kindly and helpful to all, to be tender to the lower animals and to observe and think aright. The task of teaching them how to read and write and to count and calculate is important, but it should not make us lose sight of the primary aim of moulding personality in the right way. For this it is necessary to call to our aid, culture, tradition and religion.

But in our country we have, in one and the same School, to look after boys and girls born in different faiths and who belong to families that live diverse ways of life and follow forms of worship associated with different religious denominations. It will not do to follow the easy path of evading the challenge by attending solely to physical culture and intellectual education. We have to evolve a suitable technique and method which will serve the spiritual needs of children through many religions in the same school. We would thereby cultivate an atmosphere of mutual respect and a fuller understanding and a more helpful co-operation among all the different communities in our society.

India is not like other smaller countries where there is a single language and a single faith. We have a multiplicity of languages and faiths, but are yet one and must remain one people. We have therefore to give basic training in our schools for the speaking and understanding of many languages and for the understanding and respect for the different religions prevailing in India. It is not right for us in India to be dissuaded from this on account of considerations as to the over-taxing of the young mind. What is necessary must be done. And it is not in fact too great a burden.

Any attempt to do away with or to steam-roll the differences through governmental coercion and indirect pressure, would be as futile as it would be unwise. Any imposition of a single way of life and form of worship on all children, or the neglect of a section of the pupils in this respect, or a barren secularisation, will lead to a harmful conflict between the school and home life of the pupils concerned. On the other hand, if we give due recognition to the various faiths prevailing in our educational institutions and organise suitable facilities for boys and girls of all faiths, it may itself serve as a broadening influence of great national value.

In regions where more than one language is spoken I see no other way but one, namely, to form sections in the mixed schools according to language. For certain purposes they may sit together, so that the advantages of both mixing and separate attention may be retained. In this way, provided we solve the problems with understanding and patience, the very difficulties which we at first deplore may prove in the end to be of the greatest value for progress and what was pain and trouble may become a source of enlightenment and joy.

XLV

JOURNALISM IS ART—NOT INDUSTRY

I BELIEVED myself to be a very poor journalist because I spoke my mind whenever I wrote and did not try to know beforehand what people would like. I do not think that a journalist can flourish if he proceeds in this way.

I am surprised that you call journalism an industry. Before you came to that part of your address, I was thinking of telling you that the way out of all difficulties is to treat everything as an effort towards making the world more beautiful. That is to say, I want you to look upon journalism as an art and not as an industry. If all you working journalists will treat your vocation more as an art than an industry, all will be well. Journalists are like painters and poets rather than factory workers. They are really creating works of art. When you journalists write an article, or a leading article or even when you present an item of news, you are creating a work of art.

Hitherto journalism has been too much associated with politics. You have thought that you were only an expanded Legislative Assembly, and so you went on advising, opposing, consulting and debating. I think that has become a wrong way to look at journalism. Now that we have no problem of foreign domination, we must reduce journalism—or rather raise it, to the level of an art.

Does a poet ask the Government to intervene between himself and his publishers? Can a painter ask the Government to help him to get better prices for his pictures? Works of art cannot flourish in that way. Although I have refused your kind compliment, I think I know enough of the life of journalists to feel that I am giving good advice. Whatever may be your difficulties, whatever your internal pains and travails, you must look upon what you produce as productive, creative art, and then all will be well. Write good books, make good poems, make good pictures and also write articles and make good newspapers—all will then be well. If you ask me to argue the point, I may not be able to do it within the time given me, nor even if you give me more time. But if you take my advice and practise it, I think you will find that all will be well.

As for wrangling and arguing policies, I think our newspapers must throw off the old hang-over of imagining that they are expanded legislative assemblies. Launch out on everything in life and bring out things of beauty in order that life may be enriched in our country. Journalism is only one of the many arts which enrich life and by continuing in the old style we are not likely to be very useful. I am talking as one of you. You have rightly complained of the hang-over of the Government's attitude. I think it will not last very long, even if your accusation is correct. But let us always think of the beam in our own eyes before we speak of the mote in other people's. I am not giving that in the exact proportion perhaps; but that is the old saying and I repeat it. Let us see whether we also do not suffer from old habits. I have just pointed out one.

XLVI

HARD WORK AND HONESTY

IT is only if we have character that freedom will produce happiness for the millions of our country. Character is not merely a copy-book ideal. It is the wisest national policy that can be conceived by any statesman. It is only if we have character that things will work out well. Otherwise, not only freedom, education and the universities, but the whole constitution will be mere waste paper. Hence the emphasis on character that should be formed by the best type.

We can deceive one another, but can we deceive the laws of nature? If bricks are not true and good and if they are not properly laid, the building will tumble down, whatever may have been the engineer's words or promises. In the national structure with which we are dealing, deception has no place. Unless we are strenuous in our conduct and honest in our minds, we shall not be able to make a glorious India. Whatever may be the policies and tactics of statesmanship, whatever may be the science and application of politics, whatever may be the organisation of Government, if we wish to make India not only free but glorious, as was the hope of those who fought for freedom, we shall have to work very hard and you will all have to be thoroughly honest.

Is it difficult to be straightforward? If any one has any doubt about it, all that we are working for will be vanity. Unless we make up our minds that it is easy to be straightforward, that it is easy to bear the troubles that arise out of straightforwardness and to overcome them, the glory that our country deserves cannot be built. We are not a small State like some of those in Europe, or elsewhere in the world. We are not a new State with no tradition or culture to look up to. We are a great, big country. Even after partition we are a great big country and we are a very ancient people with a literature and culture, which, if we could sell them to any other nation, they would give their whole empire to buy. So we must work hard and live up to that tradition and culture.

Therefore, friends, take what I say very seriously. It is easy to be straightforward. Difficulties that arise in life can always be overcome and even if you fail, your failure will add to your glory. Let us make up our minds that in no matter shall we swerve from the path of rectitude. In the first few years of Free India, whatever be the work that comes to you, that is your Godsent job and you must do that work. We must all resolve that during this period, when we are laying the glorious foundations of a Free India, there shall be no time for wrangling or competitive ambitions. It is time for everyone to seize whatever work he can find and do it as well as he can and do it all the twenty-four hours. This is the time when we must do double shift, night and day, and build India quickly.

XLVII

TO WOMEN

I WANT you all, irrespective of creed or community, to help to establish goodwill among the communities in India. Men have quarrelled and have ruined the country. Women alone can save the country by undoing all the wrongs that have been done by men during the last few months. You have no hatred towards one another. If among you, you create a feeling of sisterhood, men will automatically become friends. To whatever class or community you may belong, keep your hearts pure and do not allow hatred to lodge there. Keep goodwill fresh. Work actively to create and increase this goodwill in other people's hearts also. Trifling though it be, our daily behaviour has a great effect on the cultivation of goodwill. Do not neglect little acts of courtesy. If all of you will exert yourselves for a few months to re-establish goodwill in India, everything else will follow. This is your particular work.

Nothing will come right in the evolution of the world unless you work hard in positive service to the State. Let all women restore goodwill in India by determined work. Equality of rights will come to you like a ripe fruit, without your asking for it. Women have served India nobly during the last few years and that is why they have now risen to the extent they have. Have not women risen to a higher level than that at which they were in, say, 1920? How did they attain to this? During these twenty-five years, women have served and suffered alongside men, and put in hard work in equal measure with men. So they have automatically risen to the level at which they now are. During the next few months or years, your work will bring you equality, whether men pass their codes or not. I do not object to any measure that you want.

You may change all the codes. But our temperament and our national culture will still govern everything. That is the unchangeable law. Therefore, ultimately, what we have to change for the better is not laws but the culture of the country. Men must learn to respect women and not to treat them as born slaves. The individual man must be taught to have consideration for his wife. With all due respect to our legislators—and I have been one of them—these things are not changed by law, but by culture and education, so that it is to them we must attend. That is why I ask you to be teachers. Nothing else will save womanhood, except having women teachers everywhere. Fight as strongly as you can that women shall become the teachers of boys also. There is no reason why you should not monopolise such work, because it is the mother who is most fitted to teach. I do not believe in the notion that in boys' schools men must be the teachers and in girls' schools women. Women should be teachers in all schools—boys' as well as girls'. Then culture will change rapidly and education will progress and all rights will come.

XLVIII

A GOODWILL MOVEMENT

THE Y.M.C.A.'s work throughout the world has been so consistently good that it has given a new meaning to the adjective Christian. There is no reason to apprehend that the people of India will understand this to be a denominational institution. The work of the Y.M.C.A. is so well-known and has been so well-maintained that no one will misunderstand the meaning of the name or the character of the institution.

The great goodwill movement known by the name of Y.M.C.A. has a deep-rooted strength in India, and will continue, I hope, to be an example for all time to other and similar movements. Let me tell all those who may still have any doubts in regard to this business that the Y.M.C.A. has nothing to do with Christianity as a denomination, though it has much to do with Christianity's fundamentals. It is a simple expression of common goodwill which extends throughout the world and to all people. I believe that nearly everyone understands this.

There is a good deal of luck in these matters. Some institutions thrive, others do not. I believe that somehow or other a lucky star was shining at the foundation of the Y.M.C.A. and so it has gone on from success to success in its philanthropic and mighty endeavour. I congratulate all those energetic local leaders of the Y.M.C.A., who have captured the hearts of the people roundabout and have secured so much money and help and encouragement for the building of this new hostel which will add so much to the convenience of the student world here and will earn their gratitude. As I am not an American, I can say that thirty-five rooms is a very big thing. If you are going to add fifteen more and if each room is to provide two more beds, it will be a very great addition to the comfort of the student world here. Thank you therefore on behalf of them for all the work that you have done. In asking me to lay the foundation-stone you have given me a privilege which I have fulfilled with joy.

By the way, let me tell you that, relatively-speaking, this foundation-stone ceremony was arranged very much more satisfactorily than some others that I have seen. I have dealt with clumsy ropes, I have dealt with wooden sticks tied up so that we could not untie them at all! Here it was exceedingly well done. That again shows the general tidiness of the work undertaken by good organizers—a trifle perhaps, but a very important symptom, as the doctors would say!

XLIX

LOVE AND HATRED

COMMUNALISM is a bad thing if expressed in certain ways. Jealousy, ill-will and such-like feelings, whether of a community, or caste, or religion, are bad. But some of you might have observed that while Sardar Sant Singh wanted the Government to crush communalism, to use his own strong verb, he made an appeal that it should turn a kindly eye on the Sikh community! I wish to explain this. It is not a contradiction. We are using words rather loosely. Hence seeming contradictions arise.

On this occasion let me say with emphasis that the love which a man has for his own people is not bad. It is only when it takes forms which are not good for the people as a whole that communalism is bad. If a man loves his own children, why should we dislike it? If a man loves his own near relations, it is a very good thing. It is that which keeps the world going happily. If a man likes those who are of his own way of worship, it is not bad. Worship would be a mockery if the similarity of its form did not attract people to one another. Let us not be ashamed of loving one another more when there is a common form of worship.

But when does it become bad? It becomes bad when your love for your own children makes you hate your neighbour's; when your love for your family makes you hate other people, or when it makes you wrong them. Love of a man for his own people, whether it is his family, community, or any other group, is not bad, provided it does not lead him to do wrong to those who do not belong to his community. As long as they can preserve their judgment and their sanity in that respect, I welcome the love of people for their own families, their own children and their own community.

If Sardar Sant Singh loves his community and if he is a millionaire, he must scatter his rupees among the poor of his community. If any man loves his own people he must do all he can for them. That is the way to maintain the structure of the world which is based on affection. But if we begin to harm one another then I agree with Sardar Sant Singh that we must crush that feeling, because the harming of other people cannot be tolerated by a civilized government.

Let all of us therefore who are intelligent and who love our country, try to discover ways by which men and women can be guided to help the members of their own communities without hurting people belonging to other communities. It is this direction that is sadly wanting. Mere condemnation of what is bad exhausts itself in words. Let us recognise that in our country we have many communities. It is no shame that this should be so. We are an old country. older than many others, and therefore these differences have arisen. An old garden has many varieties of trees and plants; a new garden can be modelled on a simple pattern. Let us direct the intelligent men and women of every community to learn ways of increasing the happiness of men and women of their own communities without hurting the State, or the people of other communities. If we abolish distinctions and try to make people become members of one community, without differences of language, manners, ways of life or dress, are we likely to see the fulfilment of our aspirations within the next few years? I think not. The period is too short. Therefore, instead of merely giving expression to impossible wishes, let the leaders of all communities learn methods of furthering love for their own people in ways which will not bring harm to others.

Now what I say may seem very difficult, but let me assure you that it is not. It is only recently that our attachment to our own people seems to have taken the form of hatred for others. We have been through many centuries without experiencing this new and wrong expression. Everyone tried to help people of his own community, but without hurting other people This is the only thing we can do. But at the same time let us not narrow ourselves by isolation. Let us meet oftener as we have done to-day. Indeed, although I am not so stupid as to welcome parties like this, which extol me beyond my deserts, I admit I do find pleasure in seeing people of all communities. Let us organize such occasions more and more, and I may tell you, friends, that you will see in Delhi a richer and happier atmosphere. The moment two persons come together in understanding, they come to love one another. It is only when they keep away from one another that they drift further and further apart. Let us meet, therefore, as often as we can, nor shall I mind if numerous parties are held for me at which addresses are given that are even more difficult to digest than the one that has just been read! I shall not mind anything if such occasions enable us to get people together. In any case I shall have opportunities of saying what I have just said.

The freedom that we are all enjoying and which we are so glad to have got, is only a point of time, an opportunity. It is like somebody dressing for dinner. The dress itself will not satisfy his hunger. Even if he is dressed in up-to-date fashion, he must eat before he can satisfy his hunger. Similarly this nation is dressed for prosperity in the form of freedom. We have got the opportunity of helping one another, but instead of going to dinner, we have begun to quarrel with one another and the dinner is waiting. It has not yet been taken away. God is patient. He keeps the table in readiness. Let us stop fighting and go to our dinner. It is for that we should pray.

L

HONOUR THE POET

BHARATI is an immortal poet. He is one of the chief glories of Tamil poetry. His poems do not satisfy men's emotions only for the moment. They are for all time. Those who take unchartered excursions into what he has written will find richness of thought, emotion, imagery, melody and matchless beauty. It will become the future generations to sing his songs and to realize the glorious pride of our tradition, heritage, cultural attainment and philosophy.

If one begins to translate Bharati's poems, the result can only be a mutilated copy of the original masterpiece. Much of the charm of his songs will be lost and no one will derive pleasure from reading them. It will be absolutely impossible to plumb the depth of the poet's feelings.

A poet's genius and immortality are not preserved by the possession of neatly-painted volumes of his works, or by the adornment of our libraries with well-bound collections of his poems. He must be read and re-read. It is necessary to get into the stride of his feelings, his patriotism, his imagination, his emotion and his ideals. Therefore, Bharati will only be remembered for all time if every home in Tamil Nad sings his songs and realizes his great contribution to Tamil poetry.

Bharati lived amongst us, talked to us, sang to us, breathed the same air and ate the same food as ourselves. He is not a mythical figure. We are fortunate to have lived at a time which produced such a great poet as Bharati. He has depicted in his poems our faults, imperfections and defects.

LI

THANKSGIVING

WE have assembled here today to offer thanks to God. We should enter a house of prayer with a clean heart. If we are moved by ambition or greed we should not go into a masjid or temple or other house of prayer to seek the help of God. We are charged with the spirit of aggression and war-mongering. This is a false charge, owing its origin to prejudice and ignorance. Those who accuse India do not know the geography of Hyderabad, or the requirements and wishes of its people, or its recent condition. Our accusers imagine that because British lawyers enunciated a theory that British paramountcy had lapsed, Hyderabad changed overnight from what it was and its people became a separate nation. This is ludicrous.

Suppose a father dies suddenly. His son, who is a minor, does not suddenly become a major because of his father's death. In the same way, the lapse of British paramountcy cannot isolate Hyderabad from India and make it into a sovereign independent State in the heart of India, nor can it suddenly convert its people into a small nation to be protected by the U.N.O. against India.

The British withdrawal of paramountcy over Hyderabad and other principalities in India was not done at the latters' instance or for their benefit. The treaties and obligations which the Crown had entered into came to an end as an incidental consequence of the transfer of power to India. The vacuum thus created could not automatically become positive sovereignty. What was not and never could be a sovereign State, could not be converted into one by the mere fact that certain treaties with Britain had lapsed. If the people of Hyderabad were indeed a small nation, an enclave in the centre of India and they had had their way, the Nizam's rule would have ended long ago and their representatives would have been sitting in the Indian Parliament.

Indian opinion has been vastly tickled by the concern of the Security Council to maintain the Nizam in all his glory. The Security Council appeared deeply agitated over the fate of a prince and they discussed the definition of a State when the only person they were concerned about was this individual. The plight of the people of Hyderabad did not cause it any worry, nor did the danger that Hyderabad had become to peace and security in India.

If this principality had applied to the U.N.O. for recognition as a State, India would have been right to object to it and on very solid grounds. Until August 15, 1947, the Hyderabad ruler had been subject to British Indian suzerainty. After that date he accepted a Standstill Agreement that kept the old terms alive in all important matters. Whatever may have been the claims or wishes of the Nizam, Hyderabad has not enjoyed *de facto* sovereignty as a separate State for a single day up to now. The Security

Council could deal with matters relating to Hyderabad if the steps taken by the Government of India for the restoration of law and order had threatened world-peace, but this has been knocked out of the case by the incontestable proof of events. The calm that was preserved by all classes and communities of India was indubitable proof of what they all thought of the Government of Hyderabad and its ways. The policy which the gangsters in Hyderabad forced the Nizam to follow was a danger to peace in India. If the Government of India had allowed it to grow, it would have led to very grave consequences affecting not only the whole of India, but not inconceivably the peace of the world.

The Government of India has repeatedly made it clear that the people of Hyderabad will have the opportunity to settle their own government at the earliest possible date. Surrounded on all sides as that territory is by India and by people who have the closest ties of blood and identity of aspirations and interests with those of its own inhabitants, the Government of India has no doubt as to what the people of Hyderabad would desire in regard to their connections with the Government of India. There is likely to be no conflict between the inherent situation and the people's desires. Fortunately the bulk of the people of Hyderabad have no sense of separate nationality or sub-nationality from India.

It is an illusion to think that a negative can have creative power. Because the transfer of power by Britain terminated certain treaties with the Crown, the social, moral and physical terrain of India has not altered. The laws governing peace and happiness remain the same. We cannot carve out a piece from the heart of India and charm it into separate life by the legal *mantra* of lapse of paramountcy.

Twelve months ago Gandhiji worked a miracle in Calcutta and I had the privilege of being an eye-witness of it. This year what greater joy can the Governor-General of India have than being an eye-witness of another miracle, that which has been worked by the common people of India, the calm and restraint preserved by them during the Hyderabad crisis. Throughout the length and breadth of this vast country there was not a single communal clash or incident to distract the government's attention and complicate its task. Only God's grace could have brought this about. This miracle will, I believe, convert sceptics and atheists to an abiding and positive faith. Everyone co-operated. Even the busy rumour-mongers were silent. This is the miracle that I have seen with my own eyes in 1948. It is even more pregnant with hope for us than the miracle Gandhiji worked. Our Mahatma has been snatched away from us, but the people who worked the miracle in 1948 will be ever alive. They are the common people, the citizens of the Union of India. There is therefore a great future before us.

Ministers, Generals, soldiers, policemen, citizens, all are entitled to our gratitude. Nothing moves in this world but God moves it. We imagine we have done great things. The truth is God did those things. Let us be humble and deserve the grace which He so abundantly poured on us. Let us not be proud. Let us fill our hearts daily with mutual love and trust. Hyderabad has opened a new era, wherein Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs will all be loyal and trust one another. May this confidence grow into a tall, strong, wide-spreading tree. The seed has sprouted and the plant of hope has shot forth its leaves in 1948. Let us tend this precious plant. It is our life. It is our most valuable possession.

LII

WHAT GANDHI TAUGHT

I HAVE been deeply impressed by the fortitude and industry that the refugees in Delhi have shown man to be capable of, even when overwhelmed by most unexpected misfortunes and difficulties. What I have seen has filled me with wonderment and hope. No pains should be spared to help those who have shown such readiness to help themselves. The way in which the uprooted men and women have borne their misfortunes and have patiently co-operated with the Government demonstrates our capacity for self-government more than any parliamentary or other activity. When I came to Delhi I was depressed. Having seen how the uprooted are helping themselves, I am now full of hope. Our people can be great.

Let us not make a god of our dear Gandhiji. Our devotion should not lead us to expect favours from the empty worship of his picture or his statue. Let us not forget the teacher and the guide and erect an additional god to the numerous deities we already have.

He taught us that love will conquer enmity. To return hate for hate is a disservice to humanity. It will only increase the sum of human misery and will not bring joy to the hater or anyone else. Love is

God's weapon. Hate is a disease. Love will effectively and silently dissolve the hatred that hurts us.

He taught us to be truthful. There is no other way for us to profit in this world or the next. If necessary, let us lose by speaking the truth. It will bring us honour and courage, which are more precious than anything we might gain by an untruth. Truth is the most reliable of all policies, the most reliable of all friends. It will stand by us like the dog that stuck to Yudhishthira and like Yudhishthira who stuck to the dog.

He taught us to work hard and not to be lazy. He has told us, and shown us by example, how to work. Work for others, for the fulfilment of the duties you are expected to discharge and not for self-advancement. Do what you have to do without laziness and without being perturbed by success or defeat. There is no work that is superior, none that is inferior. All the kinds of work that are necessary are all equally noble and our talents, our training and our station in life. settle what each of us should do.

These are Gandhiji's teachings about work. Let us gain strength by thinking of the great good man, whom we lost so sadly. He was the salt of the earth. He is gone. But he can live in us if we are good, loving, honest and diligent.

LIII

OUR SOLDIERS

I AM no kind of a soldier. I cannot scale heights, jump a pit, carry a long pole behind my back, or walk on a rope. But I have understanding enough to appreciate the hardness of your tasks and the cheerfulness with which you carry them out. I have understanding enough too, to appreciate how useful you are to the nation as a whole. You are being trained here for military life—for the first time for a patriotic military life and not merely for a professional one.

Let me tell you that I never appreciated the phrase "mercenary", which was common enough in the newspapers of the previous decade. It was wrong to call it "mercenary"; it would have been correct to call it a profession. It was professional soldiering, and just as a doctor who has the equipment finds joy in practising his profession and incidentally making some money and curing unhappy and sick people, the soldier finds joy in the professional military life. He, too, makes some money for his family and, more important still, protects the country. That was professional soldiery. To-day you have an additional joy. Even if you get a little less money than some of those before you, or get less value for it, you have an additional joy in that you do not have a mere profession, but are serving your own people.

That new joy is now to be seen on the bright faces of every cadet and every officer in India, a thing we did not see some years ago. In the old days there was loyalty and discipline. A soldier turned exactly 90 degrees, or marched quite correctly with the fixed look that soldiers are trained to wear. But at the beginning of the August of last year, senior officers especially were somewhat disturbed. They found that their men were not turning exactly 90 degrees but 88. The other two degrees were lost in contemplation of their new freedom. Senior officers were disturbed by a little slackness in the gestures that make a salute, a little slackness in the words that were used. Some of them said "Jai Hind", some of them said "Namaste" and all of them were confused as to what exactly they should do on each occasion. All that was a little disturbing, but the disturbance was due to the new joy that they all felt. Things have now settled down and I find that the face of every soldier in India now is more beautiful than it was, because handsomeness comes out of internal joy. There is no disharmony in their minds. There is no conflict in their minds between duty to officers, duty to the army, duty to the profession and duty to the country. Everyone is more cheerful now. Shall we not therefore offer thanks to God for all this joy?

You do not know how many people there are who are ready to give money to me or to the Prime Minister, saying: "distribute this among our soldiers". I can raise any fund for you. That is the state of mind in the country to-day. If instead of levying a tax and allotting a budget for the army, the Government said to-day, "people are allowed to pay whatever they like for the good of the Army", we should raise a higher revenue for defence than the Legislative Assembly ever did before. That is due to the cheerfulness of the people in these days.

Let me tell you this. Of all the professions in India to-day—whether it be that of a doctor's, a sanitary officer, a lawyer, a teacher, a civil servant or a barber—of all the professions, high and low in this country, the Army is the most popular with the people—and popular not in the sense that they would all like to join the army, but in the sense that they love it. There is no greater encouragement or pleasure for people than to be loved by others. That is the biggest addition to your salary. Over and above the money you get as salary, you have the currency of the living love of your fellow men. The old Commanders-in-Chief and other senior military officials, including the old Subedars, did not get it. But to-day everybody loves you. Therefore every rupee that you are now getting from the Government is a golden and not a silver rupee. I wish I were young if for nothing else than the pleasure of being admitted to this institution as a cadet. They seem to teach here everything in the world, and so quickly. In other colleges they walk; in this you run! Find joy in everything. You go through hard physical exercise. You are taught mathematics, science, physics and similar subjects and many of you are getting practice in the art of talking.

In modern times, war is conducted, not as in the old days, by mere killing, but by talking, writing and telling the opposite side how much we can do.

In the old days men were born to obey. There was feudal loyalty—discipline and obedience because of birth. To-day nobody obeys anyone else blindly. It must be explained beforehand why you should be obeyed. What you learn here by way of talking and explaining is therefore not useless. It is part of the equipment for national defence.

I wish you success in all your tasks. I wish that no war may come and overtake us, that we shall never have to wage war. It is good to keep your fangs, like a cobra, in your mouth, but not to bite anybody. We have to support arms, but it is not good to wage war. We must keep our fangs. We must keep ourselves in training, but we must keep cool and not lose our tempers. The best pacifists in any country are the soldiers. It is the civil population that often shout for war, but it is the strong who restrain themselves. It is the weak who know nothing of self-restraint. I wish you all strength. I wish you all calm.

LIV

AT DOON SCHOOL

THIS visit has proved most interesting and has helped to create hope in me. Education is the most difficult of all tasks. It is one of the most essential things and in a very highly civilized country like ours the aims are always very high. I wish there were other institutions scattered all over the country and which were as good and efficiently run as this one, with its swimming pools, workshops, art and music classes and everything in order. But we have not the resources to multiply institutions of the type we have here.

What then shall we do? Can we be satisfied with inferior education? On the contrary, our minds will not accept such a proposition. As we want superior education, we shall have to devise a way to make it cheaper, but as good as it is here. You may not have this swimming pool, but you will have to drive boys to village tanks and make them swim there. You may not have Mr. Martyn, but you must get some local man who has got the instinct for teaching. If anyone tells me that this cannot be done, and cheaply, then the problem is an insuperable one.

We may not all be able to have race horses, but we can all have bicycles. We can have beautiful carpets to show what carpets can be, but at the same time we can distribute cheap rugs to protect people against the cold.

What I like here is that the boys are made to work. They are made to produce things and to see that there is joy in their production. I could see the joy in their faces when they were shaping wood, or hammering a piece of iron, or painting a picture. The gradual development of this side of a boy's character is the most important part of the system here and it can be incorporated everywhere at no great cost. In all our villages, boys can be taken by the local Mr. Martyn to the local workshops and made to see things and take part in them.

Then there is the problem of mixing. You have an excellent community life. Boys from all parts of India come here. Our culture is a synthesis of our own culture *plus* something which came, and has been here, for 150 years. 'Quit India' we said to Britain, but the English language remains. 'Quit the English language' some people shout, but if English went what language would you use in the Doon School? The present synthesis of cultures that has been developed by India cannot be undone. This school represents a synthesis with which we have to bear for some time at least and whatever the medium of instruction in other schools in other provinces, I fear the English language will remain on here.

It will not suit national self-respect. It may be impossible for you to cope with popular opinion. You may have to introduce the national language as a medium, but again you will have to compromise. What I mean is this. We shall have to give perfect freedom to the efficient teacher to use whatever medium he likes according to the class which he is instructing. It depends on the composition of the class and the subject you teach. That is perhaps the only solution for the immediate problems before us in regard to the medium of teaching. If you try anything else by compulsion, you will have trouble. You will not be able to do anything.

If we could sit down, close all schools and think quietly for a year, we might discover a solution, but the schools must be kept open. It is like trying to repair a railway train while it is in motion. All schools will have to go on, just as all work will have to go on. Therefore, we shall have to make a number of compromises. That is the problem.

This is a very fine school. I am impressed by the amount of science which is taught here. It is wrong to think that science teaches only science. Science brings about a change in the whole attitude of the young. It brings about correct judgment, alertness and obedience to laws. In fact, science is an excellent medium of culture for both boys and girls.

I give my blessings to all the boys that are studying in the school. May they have the best of careers and—if no careers are available—the best of tempers in life. Let them go through life happily and with that joy which can be got with or without a career.

LV

BODY WORK

KATHIAWAR is the birthplace of Mahatma Gandhi and the whole of India looks upon it as the mother of their beloved lost son. As long as he was alive, nobody asked what part of India he belonged to. Now that he has gone, people look about for signs and tokens and memorials. We must pay our homage to the part of India which gave birth to such a great man.

This is the first time as an individual that I have placed my foot on this holy soil. But I do not come to you to-day in my individual capacity. I have come to bring you the good wishes and blessings of every Indian, and I speak these words on their behalf.

Your State, in its new form, is no more than an infant, for it is only seven or eight months old. Although ours is an ancient land, this experiment in governing ourselves is young and we have to be careful. You are luckier than people in other parts of India because you can claim a great many of those who have received personal training and instruction under Mahatmaji and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. The people of Saurashtra may therefore be confident that all will be well with them and that their difficulties will soon be overcome.

A great thing has been done here. Unification was very difficult but it has been achieved. Let us confess that even in the great days of old there were more than fifty kingdoms in India. Each one of their rulers called himself the Emperor of India and there were quite a number of emperors. It must be honestly admitted that we have had numerous kingdoms in India. To-day we have practically one government in India. The British claim that they gave us this unity. The claim that they unified India and made a present of a unified India to us is in many respects true. But when they went, they tried their best to make it not one, but several. There were many reasons for this. We need not go into the merits of those reasons, but with God's help and with the Sardar's energy, we have re-unified the broken parts.

Let me ask you to look at these things in a large way. In the old days, kingdoms were created and maintained by force. But because kings cannot maintain their kingdoms by force beyond a certain limit, there were many kingdoms in India. In fact it is only possible to conquer and maintain authority by force over a limited area. In these days kingdoms are made and maintained and supported, by agreement. The agreement of peoples now being the basis of government, we can cover as much territory as can be covered by agreement. It is obvious to anyone who goes about and sees any part of India—and this meeting is one such example—that all the people of India are agreed that there should be one government in the land. Government is based to-day on the consent of the people and it is because of this that government can be one for the whole of India. All opposition to this movement for one government in India crumbles to pieces at the first touch. You have placed before India a noble example of unification and the whole country will learn by it.

For some time to come we must suspend individual aspirations and ambitions. During the period of the infancy of the State, no individual must think of himself but of Saurashtra as a whole. Men and women should all combine in this noble aspiration. Even Alladin, when he had the lamp, had to rub it hard to produce what he wanted. Freedom is an Alladin's lamp, but we have to rub it very hard. The greatness of a country depends on the amount of work that is put in by the people. Nothing will grow by itself. We shall have to make everything. The people will have to work.

Those who work with their bodies must be respected as the first citizens of the State. Those who work with their brains must stand behind and look upon those who work with their bodies as superior to them. Those who do monotonous or unpleasant work must be treated with special respect. All work gives a certain amount of joy, but those who do intellectual work get more joy out of it than those who do monotonous manual work. If our intelligence is worth anything, those who are intelligent and who do intellectual work should know that they must respect those who do unpleasant and tedious work, as rendering greater service to the State than they. Those who work with their intellects are already paid for it by the joy that they get out of it. We must pay, recompense, encourage and respect those who do unpleasant work.

I have said so much about this because I feel convinced that the greatness of India depends on the way in which those who work with their bodies will work in India from now on. God has blessed all of us with intelligence. Some have had opportunities to develop the use of it, others not. But we must treat all alike. The future of Saurashtra depends on the way in which you enable the peasants of Saurashtra to work. The intelligent people of Saurashtra have the whole of India in which to work. Let not the intelligentsia think of their own province. They can work anywhere and can serve the whole of India wherever they may be. Though we may love our province as much as we like, let us not become provincial in our outlook. The movement for freedom has already demonstrated what the people of Saurashtra can do. I have no doubt that those who have founded this new democratic government in Saurashtra will soon find that their work bears good fruit. But we must remember one thing. We should decide to be honest and industrious. You should so behave that people will not forget that Mahatma Gandhi belonged to you. May Krishna bless the land where He ruled as his own.

LVI

THE PRINCES

I HAVE derived great pleasure during this visit from seeing so many Princes together. I never tire of telling my colleagues and those of my friends who are taking public responsibility for government in various parts of the country and relieving hereditary authorities of their powers, that there is still much use for Princes. And when I say Princes, I include all those to whom common folk look up with devotion.

It is very difficult to create a new institution, for, those that exist are the result of long evolution. If you examine, with a scientific and unbiassed eye, anything that has been growing for a long time, you will see it has remained in existence, not merely by means of plots and conspiracies, but because of the need for such an institution and because of the satisfaction it has given to the people. By and large, therefore, any institution that has stood the test of ages and that has existed till 1948 should be carefully examined before you replace it or put it aside. You may gather from what I have said that I am a hardened conservative. But wisdom does not exclude change. It does not even exclude revolution and when you deal with living institutions, you should deal with them wisely.

It was, I think, when I was last at Gwalior, that party after party of peasants came with flowers and other symbols of devotion to the Maharaja's palace, because an heir-apparent had just been born. When I saw the peasantry of the whole State coming with music and all the paraphernalia of joy, as if children had been born in their own families, I asked myself who had taught them to do this. Was there any use in it? And my reply was there was great use for it, as much as for any other form of devotion in this world.

Times having changed we need a new kind of government. Still we want someone towards whom the devotion of the people automatically flows. Ruling Princes have a long tradition of popular respect behind them and if we ourselves have sufficient moral force we can see to it that the members of the various royal families conduct themselves in our own day so as to deserve that devotion. You should not give them up in a spirit of hopelessness.

Look at the example of the British people. They have had kings against some of whose personal lives much could be said. There have been many nobles there who similarly distinguished themselves. Yet, on the whole, those people have been useful to the nation and have earned the nation's appreciation. The British people do not regard the king as an unimportant person though he has no authority worth mentioning. He does not attend Cabinet meetings. nor does he do anything by way of exercising power. All the same, the people in England are enthusiastic about him and when a boy is born to his daughter, the whole nation feels like the Gwalior peasants I referred to. They dress themselves in their best and arrive with presents. Only they do not make so much fuss. Things are done differently, but all enjoy the event nevertheless.

Take my own case. Why does India want a Governor-General? Why do you all make so much fuss when I come? I take scarcely any part in the government, or do anything worth mentioning in it, yet everybody seems to think that I am doing something useful and they seem to like me. Now if you can tolerate me and tolerate the Governors of provinces, I do not see why you do not like one who has been brought up, so to say, in the culture of governorship. Nobody taught me how to behave if I should be made Governor-General. But the Rajpramukh is taught from the time of his birth how to behave as a Maharaja or as a Rajpramukh. If we need Governors and Governor-General—and everybody feels that we do—let us not take it for granted that all Rajas and Maharajas and Nawabs should be deposed. There is some use for them. But history has taken a course which we cannot alter now, and there is need for a certain amount of change.

I would advise all democratic statesmen who take office and who are responsible to the people for efficient and good government, to make the best use of such institutions as exist until we can develop a new tradition and new machinery for the conservation of automatic national devotion. I plead therefore for very cordial, friendly and mutually helpful cooperative relationship between men of the type and position of the Rajpramukh who has spoken such kind words of welcome to me, and all people like him.

That of course does not mean you should have 560 Princes to confuse matters. We have to integrate India into one. It was very welcome to me that the Maharaja of Bhavnagar was invited to be Governor of Madras. It gave me a fresh demonstration of what I was thinking. If somebody is to be Governor of Madras, why should it not be the Maharaja of Bhavnagar, who has been trained in the art of non-controversial helpfulness to the machinery of government? He is there now and from all I have heard he is doing very well. The parallel which was drawn by the Rajpramukh, that while a son of Sourashtra is Governor of my own province, a son of Madras is Governor-General of India, was a very interesting one. There is something in tradition and culture.

If you want a teacher, one who has been born into a teaching family is more likely to be a good teacher than one who has merely been trained. I do not know if everybody appreciates the value of the training which particular communities have gained in particular professions through the caste system. Have we established carpenters' institutes in this country for the training of carpenters? No. Have we established fishing institutes in this country for the training of fishermen? Nevertheless, we possess ready-made carpenters, ready-made fishermen, ready-made barbers, ready-made almost everything, and that most difficult of all professions, ready-made scavengers. We still live very much within the caste system. By saying this, I am not pleading for the maintenance of caste divisions. I want inter-marriage among all castes and religions without distinction. Nothing else will solve our communal and caste difficulties. We may say, 'down with communalism,' but we cannot bring about its downfall unless we freely encourage inter-marriage among all communities.

I have said a good deal in a rather rambling way, because I want the new ministries to succeed, not only in Saurashtra, but everywhere. Here are gathered Ministers as well as Princes. May I on this occasion point out that our new Ministries should develop the best possible relations with the authorities they have replaced, and that they should make them feel that they are still looked upon with respect and treated with courtesy?

The Princes in their turn should not look upon the Ministers as trespassers, or as persons who have assumed their authority prematurely. They should look upon them as friends, as symbols of changed times, and as people worthy of help. If the Princes love the people, they should love the Ministers whom the people have elected as their representatives. There should be mutual love and affection. I am sure that both our urban and rural culture will benefit if we adopt this attitude. Otherwise we shall make mistakes. There is still a great deal of work to do. We must therefore be wise and cautious. Let us be confident but not arrogant.

LVII

SWAMI DAYANAND SARASWATI

OUR religion was founded by and has been added to from time to time by some of the greatest souls who have ever walked this earth. Their one passion was the quest for truth. They dug into the mysteries of mind and matter with a will, an energy and a poise of reason and emotion, unsurpassed by any other people in the world. It is our special good fortune to have been born to such a rich inheritance and if, instead of using and benefiting by that inheritance, we feel it to be a millstone round our necks, none but ourselves is to blame.

Truth is one and eternal, but by reason of the natural limitations of the human mind, it is only discovered by us in parts. At any given moment there is a sum-total of knowledge which has to be collected and synthesised without prejudice or passion. A continuous re-adjustment is necessary, so that the sum of Truth in our possession at any given time may be combined into a whole. The previous conquests over darkness which have been handed down to us, will serve as stepping-stones and not as hindrances, if we do not erect impassable barriers between the old and newly-found knowledge.

To integrate ancient truth and modern knowledge is the only way to the fulness of life to which we are entitled. Ancient wisdom should not be treated as a thing apart from modern Truth. Just as the material wealth of our forefathers has merged into our own resources, so should the moral wealth inherited from them, flow into and become one with modern truth and wisdom. Ancient and modern are not two different valleys divided by an impassable ridge, but are one continuous territory, passing imperceptibly into each other. If we look back with imagination and clear vision, we can easily see that there has been no point of time where the ancient ended and the modern began. It has been one continuous flow of human activity.

There is no reason whatever why the religion of the Hindus should in any respect be unsuitable for modern times. Our forefathers could not, and did not intend to, provide for all time, but they gave us more than the forefathers of any other people have ever given them. They left a tradition of wise conservatism that has ensured the continuity of culture and been a safeguard against decay and destruction. At the same time, it did not prohibit a readjustment to modern knowledge. Failure to readjust must lead to decay and destruction. It is our own fault and not that of our forefathers, if we misinterpret a protective conservatism as a death-trap of truth.

Maharshi Dayanand Saraswati was among our people a hundred years ago. At that time the religion of our forefathers was being sorely pressed by modern science on the one hand and by Christianity on the other. The chronic attack of Islam was also there. The fault was not in the Rishis who gave us the Vedas and the Upanishads, but in us. The Maharishi diagnosed the diseases and treated the cause surgically, by a process of bold excision. In this his method differed from that of other great men, for example, Shri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, who applied an all-embracing tolerance and understanding which dissolved all barriers and rendered the crudest parts of Hinduism as good as the highest. The goal was the same, but the approaches differed.

Swami Dayanand's soul rebelled against the idea that Hinduism should be relegated to a status as unsuitable to modern times. He strove by a process of merciless chopping off, to make the ancient forest habitable for modern man. Let us not convert the results of his labour into yet another obstinate sect; but let us rather understand the purpose and meaning of his noble efforts and strive to fulfill them as he would have wished, that is to say, by making Hinduism a habitable tenement for modern life; a religion whose culture, tradition and tenets, make no compromise with evil, and offer no impediment to human progress. If there is one religion that has followed the scientific method in the search for spiritual truth, it is the religion of the Upanishad teachers. If the Rishis had been told that out of deference to them new knowledge would be kept apart and that their teachings would be protected in isolation, they would have been shocked. They would have condemned it as the grestest of heresies in the worship of truth.

The present phase of Hinduism is a period of the re-absorption and integration of all the reforming sects. This will of course mean a certain amount of self-effacement of denominations. But pride is the enemy of truth as well as of human welfare. Swami Dayanand's aim can only be fulfilled by the re-absorption of his reforms as well as of the Sikh Gurus, the Brahma Samaj and all others into Hinduism as a whole. Truth is automatically self-effacing. This is the very nature of truth. If any reforming school resists this self-effacement and seeks to live apart from that which it is its function to reform, thenceforward it begins to rot and decay. The unreformed may indeed prove better than the isolated reformer-denomination, for age gives a power all its own. Swami Dayanand's teachings have permeated widely and a stage has been reached when they can no longer form a denomination apart, but must live within the soul of Hinduism itself. This has been the trend of thought and of action on the part of all Arya Samajists.

LVIII

THE INSPIRATION FOR ART

MAULANA Sahib has explained how these exhibits really enable us to understand the history of our land, how we can see in them the greatness of past efforts in the field of art in India, and how, with imagination, we can build up the national life that gave birth and scope to such art. We may thereby find inspiration and hope for the future. The past is always beautiful and glorious, for we see only its achievements, and the dreary spaces in between are necessarily cut out of the picture. In the present, on the other hand, we are far too conscious of the empty spaces and are prone to underestimate achievement. Still it would not be wrong to say that several causes have contributed to a relative barrenness at the present day.

For a people to produce works of art there must be a very real and sustained emotional power moving their hearts, faith, love, devotion, or the like. The men who built or painted or carved and whose art we admire, carved, painted and built as they did because they had an intensity and genuineness of feeling and faith, which we no longer possess. How can men who are without feeling do what feeling alone can produce? We can copy, we can measure and reproduce, but creative art requires genuine faith.

We see in figures and paintings, curves, anatomy, colour and the rest, but we cannot produce works of art unless we have in us the faith that was in those who in former days produced these things. How can the unbeliever produce works comparable to the dance of Nataraja or the Ajanta frescoes? It is impossible. Could any man on earth conceive the dance of Siva if he did not see God behind all the seeming diversities of good and evil in this world? Could anyone have painted the Ajanta frescoes if he had not believed with all the strength of his soul in love and compassion, and that man could be saved through the Lord Buddha? Could anyone have built the temples of South India if he had not firmly believed in salvation through the faith of his fathers? We can produce tawdry copies, but we cannot build the original temple or paint the original frescoes. Could any one have given us the Taj unless he had loved as greatly as Shahjahan? Could anyone have planned or built Fatehpur Sikri unless he had fervently believed in the unity of all religions and hoped for humanity as Akbar did? To Soordas, Mira and Tyagaraja, who sang the songs and composed the music which we enjoy so greatly, Krishna and Ram were as completely real as the things they saw and touched with their eyes and hands in daily life.

Our art has lapsed with the measure of our barrenness of faith and reverence. It is only when love, faith or reverence shines through a picture or a piece of sculpture or architecture that we can exclaim, 'How beautiful!' It is not just a matter of the knowledge of the laws of proportion or of harmony.

in colour or exactitude of representation. We cannot attain greatness of art for a nation except through greatness of life. We must believe and love and truly revere if we hope and wish to revive art. Otherwise the utmost we can do is by painting landscapes and even there we can succeed only to the extent to which we can approach the sky and the earth, the water and the trees, with the awe and reverence that means religion.

But we now have a new fountain of inspiration in our political emancipation. If we become sincere, we can yet achieve something in art. We can see in this exhibition that we have inherited a very sound foundation of culture on which we can build worthily. To achieve anything great, we must have a vision that is straightforward and honest. I think we are getting to it. There is a tremendous amount of literature on art in various fields, most of which ordinary people such as myself cannot hope to understand, although I think I can say that I do appreciate and enjoy good painting, good sculpture and good architecture.

Even the jargon of metaphysics is not so mystic as some of the analytical art criticism that I have tried to read and given up as hopeless. I have a notion that art criticism flourishes and grows in inverse ratio to the art itself. It is as true of art as of literature that genius has often to struggle against learned criticism in order to get a chance to find expression. I may take this occasion to put in a public plea for kindliness of approach towards creative effort in general. This Exhibition is a lesson in the history of India. It is also a lesson in politics and statesmanship and a collection that will serve to help the progress of art.

LIX

PATIENCE

I VERY much sympathize with the difficulties you have described. Who in India does not know that you have not only suffered greatly but something which has been beyond any conception? You have suffered a literal earthquake which has rent your nerves beyond description. But man's strength is very great and you have borne all those sufferings admirably. History will record your sufferings and your fortitude in a manner which your children will be proud to read. You say very rightly that the Punjab, and I may add Bengal, have both suffered more than any other part of India for the sake of India's freedom. It was not put upon you with cruelty by other people. It was the result of the position you occupied in the unalterable arrangement of nature and the evolution of progress. The composition of the population here, as in Bengal, and the position you occupy in the geography of India, have resulted in your peculiar torments. Please do not attribute them to the callousness of other people, or to their cruelty. If in the process of evolution men and women and communities reach a certain position, they have to accept it along with its joys and glories, its difficulties and catastrophies.

For a long time the Punjab held the foremost place in the armies of India. You had the position and the peculiar circumstances which made you a martial people. We must 'take it' as you have put it, not only bravely, but also *gladly*. You have all read the Ramayana. Did Rama shed tears when he went to the forest? If he had not been the eldest son, he would not have had to go through all that trouble. So do you, as in a way the eldest sons of India, to bear troubles and misfortunes. You should not weep. If because of physical pain, tears come, let it be so, you do not let it affect your heart. Our problem now is what we must do for the future. Do not hark back to what has happened. Let us not increase our misery by reminding each other of the past. The God who gives us misfortunes, griefs and troubles, has also given us the capacity to bear them and to remove sad things from the mind. Let us use that talent in order to forget sorrows and look to the future.

During the national struggle, when everyone united for a particular goal, they united well and forgot their private affairs. They all acted like heroes. There has been some deterioration now, but we must bear with that also and carry on. A tree is not quite so beautiful in autumn as it is in spring. Now private affairs are assuming a more real aspect. Many people have suffered so long that perhaps it may be cruelty to ask them to forget their private affairs. Let us not blame one another. It has become the fashion to blame everyone else but oneself. Nobody turns his eyes towards himself. Even when it is possible to include himself in admonitions and rebukes he does not do so. We always look at other people and criticise them. Let us now try and bear with one another and carry on.

We are all citizens of this country and it is no use believing that somebody else will do our work. We have to do the work ourselves. If the character of our people has deteriorated to some extent, we must bear with it. We must carry on somehow and make the best of such human material and resources as we have. That is what the Government of India and your leaders are doing and you must all help them in their task. We are a great nation and if we help one another we shall be able to do much more than people think.

There are some who say, 'Oh, in the old days everything was good, there was more discipline and greater efficiency. Now everyone is quarrelling and there is more debating than work. The people are poor, the people are hungry. What is the use of this Government?' This is neither right nor fair. It is one thing to have that perfect discipline through mutual agreement which is the basis of democracy; another to have silence and absolute obedience through fear. But what use is that? It is only if we have discipline when we are free to be indisciplined that we can have order by agreement. In the old days we were all disciplined like bullocks yoked to carts. Now we must try to agree with one another. It will take some time and we shall learn by experience.

Sometimes we can learn through a great man's life and precepts, but mostly we learn from experience. If you see a little indiscipline, be patient. If a father or mother constantly sits near the child and says: 'Don't put your finger in the fire,' the child won't know what fire is. Our people will learn efficiency and discipline in due course, through experience. If you must be impatient, be impatient with yourself. Say to yourself: 'Let me be disciplined.' Don't say to others: 'Be disciplined.' Say to yourself: 'Let me speak the truth.' Do not tell others: 'Do not utter lies.' If you speak the truth, other people will follow. If you are disciplined, other people will copy you.

LX

BANGABASI COLLEGE DIAMOND JUBILEE

THIS College was started sixty years ago. The lights that have been placed here represent the number of years the institution has passed through. It is more difficult for an institution to reach the age of sixty than for a mortal to reach the same age. Nature has provided many safeguards for the human system and sixty years can be reached even by a careless man like me. But institutions are not provided with these safeguards. Unless the men who build the institution guard it against dangers with care and vigilance, it may die long before reaching the age of sixty. I can therefore understand the pride and joy which you feel in celebrating this Jubilee.

The history of this institution is an adventure and a story-book by itself. Boys and girls born in these days do not know what happened or prevailed in the old days. They think that everything was as it is to-day. At the time when this College was founded, things were very different. Even the founding of a school was a great undertaking and the history of this particular college has been an achievement from the first. I for one cannot imagine how a college of this nature could have carried on without a grant from Government. If I were to tell this to the people of Madras they would simply not believe it. But many miracles are performed in Bengal and this is one of them. It is matter for great pride, but that does not mean that you should not take grants in future. Indeed I would ask you to go on pressing for as much as you can get. Without sufficient funds colleges cannot provide good enough accommodation and equipment in these days or pay proper salaries to the staff. In the old days a revolutionary institution may not have thought it wise to take grants for fear of the strings that might be attached to them. Now no such apprehension need worry you.

This hall is very ancient, but whenever I come here I feel inclined to advise everybody concerned to build a new and more convenient hall somewhere else. This may be an ancient relic, but is a very inconvenient place for meetings of this kind. There is more height than audibility, more grandeur than convenience, and more pillars than space. All the people who are crowded outside on the road are very angry with us. It is high time the University and the public of Calcutta devised measures to build a hall worthy of the dignity of the University. These are days of anxiety and I know my proposition is a difficult one, but yet we should have it in front of us.

I have great pleasure in once again congratulating all those who have built this institution and maintained it and who feel a pride in the attainment of the Jubilee Year today. I hope all of you will make the Jubilee festivities a grand success.

There were many light as well as serious remarks about the name of the College. Names are just accidents. Bangabasi is quite a suitable name. Do not try to change it. Let the name which has been associated with the college all these sixty years continue.

Before I sit down, I wish to tell you boys and girls seriously that hereafter you should not think of stopping work, either in college or outside it. This function is supposed to invite the blessings of the seniors, but the institution wants the blessings of you boys and girls. You must be proud of this institution and must maintain it in full activity. You must so conduct yourselves that it may be proud of its name and history. Education has come to mean the preparation for a career. But whatever deterioration may take place in either method or motive, the fact remains that education is intended to prepare men and women for life. The education that we receive in schools and colleges is worth nothing if it does not prepare us for life. It is not a mere process of acquiring knowledge. It is a process of acquiring the method of thinking, of correct feeling and of correct action. If they keep this in mind, all colleges and schools, whatever may be their deficiencies, will do good. Remember, this is a place where you learn how to think and where you learn how to observe and how to reason. You get a machine-tool at the university or college to carry you through life. You do not carry away benches and chairs, but tools. You must know how to use those tools. This is very old wisdom oft-repeated.

I appeal to you all to make this college an even greater success than it is at present. This will not be difficult while earnest men and women are here to support it and to give the college not only sixty years of sweet memory, but another sixty years at least to come. Most of us will have gone by then, but some of the young people here will see another Golden Jubilee. Then, I hope, they will remember some of the things said today.

LXI

BENGAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

IN commercial circles, British and other non-Indian elements seem to have more confidence in the future of India than have the nationals of India. Optimism is the correct attitude. Ah attitude of hesitation and doubt is not correct. It delays things. Indian commercial and industrial people require education in that optimism which can be provided by people who have come here from outside India. I have requested many friends coming from abroad to infect our people with optimism in regard to industry and trade and other things. They know our difficulties and they understand that optimism is not only required but justified, so that they have welcomed my suggestion. I hope you will agree with me that optimism is not only justified but essential and that you have a right to infect your brothers in the commercial and industrial fields, who belong to my own colour, with that optimism.

Till recently—till August 15, 1947, to mention a particular date for the sake of convenience—our industry and commerce were under a political system which ensured stability and permanence. It was a Government which was not able to do a great many things, but at least it was able to assure stability and permanency of policy because it was a Government based on authority and not on power derived from the people. They could say that for the next twenty-five years you can rest assured that such and such a thing will be the policy, and that this could be done and that this could not be done. Authority and autocracy were the basis on which you lived and operated.

Since August 15, 1947, we have not been living in a placid pool but in a moving river. Our Government is democratic, not an authoritarian. Not only can policy be changed by a change of Government, but on any particular day a vote of no-confidence can change the Government. Policies have now to derive authority from the people below. Our Government is all the time conscious that it is the people who give the power. From the time we became a Free Government, therefore, it may be said that uncertainty has taken the place of that certainty which was guaranteed by the previous Government.

The British people know how to live, work and invest in democracy. Like a man who knows how to swim in running water, British industrialists know how to live and make investments in democracy. They do not get disheartened by thinking of the possibility of a change of Government or a change of policy. They live, work and produce.

Now the industrialists in India and the commercial people in India, some of whom are represented by big people sitting in front of me to-day, have not reconciled themselves to this new phenomenon. Formerly we swam in a pool. We now have to swim and make headway in a moving river. You will not get back the British Government, or any substitute of that type. You cannot expect the Government to guarantee permanency of conditions as could the old British Government. We shall have to reconcile ourselves to moving water, that is to say, to policies which always depend on popular consent and can be changed by a vote of no-confidence at any moment. It is no use my saying that in Delhi it is very cold, because if I do I shall be unhappy all the time. What I have to do is to get the proper clothes to withstand the weather. That is what the industrialists have to do.

Look at the people who work in Czechoslovakia, for instance. Placed as they are between two political systems, do they not produce machinery, tools and so on? Do they not have self-confidence and concentration of purpose? You have been complaining, though not very bitterly, about the uncertainties of the policies of the Government of India. Do not think that this is a defect of particular individuals. It is the inherent quality of democracy and you must reconcile yourselves to that and work as they do in other democratic countries.

You complain of heavy taxation. It is no use saying that Government must reduce expenditure unless you show where it can and should be done. You cannot say, 'let industry and trade be free but wherever there is labour unrest you must send the police.' If you want free enterprise, industry and trade, you will have to take all the responsibility of contented labour. Therefore, friends, do not constantly keep saying: 'This is wrong, that is wrong, that has not been done.' You yourselves reduce the prices of your stocks and shares by talking of uncertainty. Things get worse and worse as a result of such talk. On the contrary we must talk the language of satisfaction.

We must get the people and workers to understand that there is a relentless law which governs their own demands. I am addressing industrialists and capitalists, so that I do not dilate on matters which I would deal with were I speaking to a different audience.

Some people say that Ministers make too many speeches. They have to make speeches in democracy. They have to feel the pulse of the people. They have to see what the reaction is. In England too they make many speeches, only they are not all reported. Here the papers are full of the reports of long speeches from me and others. In England they make speeches at public meetings and in drawing-rooms. They have a habit of making speeches at dinners, teas or lunches, and during conversation, only they use a simpler language than we do. Democracy has to be educated by the exchange of opinions and how can there be an exchange of opinions unless people talk to one another?

The members of Government hold office at the will and pleasure of the people. In fact the Government of India are just tenants-at-will. They will have to behave like tenants-at-will, but at the same time like good tenants-at-will. They will have to try their best to create relative security. You cannot have absolute security. Democrary means uncertainty of policy. That is my view. As I told you at the out set, take it for what it is worth in your own experienced judgment.

LXII

DOCTOR OF LAW

HIS Excellency the Chancellor and Governor of this Province extorted my admiration many years ago by his wisdom and patience when I first met him at Allahabad on a historic occasion. I am therefore extremely glad to receive this degree at his hands. No one is truly any older or younger than anyone else. We are all eternal and it is only our bodies that differ in age. I have enough humility to understand the meaning of the words I have used. I say sincerely that I receive this degree at his hands with very deep satisfaction. The premier University of India has chosen to confer this great honour upon me. I was overjoyed when I received a Degree of Doctor of Laws from the University out of which I was born. When one receives a benefit from one's own mother, one does not think that anything extraordinary has taken place. But when I receive a degree from the premier University of Calcutta, I ask myself whether I have really deserved it. I shall not weary you with my thoughts in this direction, because in the world of affairs such thoughts may pass for conventional humility. However I know how truly I speak.

It is the Degree of Doctor of *Law* that you have been pleased to confer upon me. "Law" in the singular makes it far greater than "Law" in the plural. Am I then receiving a Degree of Doctorate in that Law which is the law of all laws, the basis of all life and the meaning and purpose of all the laws that men pass from time to time in different countries? In our own great language we have a word exclusively set apart for this connotation—Dharma. Am I considered fit by the premier University of India to receive a Doctorate of Dharma?

I am profoundly grateful to God who has enabled me to have lived a life which you consider a sufficient basis for conferring this degree upon me. I have often been tempted to laugh at honorary degrees. As I have a sense of humour I am able to laugh when these honorary degrees are conferred upon people like me who are without any great academic qualifications. But on this occasion I must confess that I am thinking in a different way. Ordinary degrees are conferred after strict examination and classification. But if now, at the age of seventy all that I have done during my life is carefully examined by good and critical men who are members of a University, and if they think of my performance as good enough to merit this great Degree of Dharma, surely I may feel proud. But being somewhat religiously inclined, I attribute it all to God, who has enabled me to go through difficulties and trials over a fairly long period, and enabled you to appreciate what I have done.

Thank you, Mr. Chancellor, for conferring this degree upon me. I tender my thanks to the Fellows and Senators of this University and I shall deem it a great honour, and I hope in the few years that are left to me I shall be benefited by the encouragement that you have given me by this degree. I hope that I shall live worthily during the time that remains to me and that I shall bring this great University no discredit.

LXIII

ORPHANS

IT gives me very great pleasure to have done something here in the way of helping orphans. Those who have nobody to look after them must be looked after by some institution. Those who do anything for orphans and who give alms to the poor buy tickets for heaven. In all religions this is prescribed and believed, and there is no difference on this point. We may pray in different languages, we may kneel in different ways, but all religions teach that we should help orphans and thereby get nearer to God. I have therefore every reason to be proud of the privilege you have given me of laying this slab and thereby promoting the cause of charity and of help to orphans.

All orphans to whatever community they may belong are my children and the children of my successor heads of the State of India. It does not matter what caps or shoes or trousers they wear, orphans are the same. In one way orphans are fortunate. Let them not imagine that they are miserable. They are looked after by a great State. Governments teach children to be good citizens. May all the orphans who come under the protection of this orphanage be good citizens of India.

I do not know whose inspiration it was, but it has given me great pleasure that on the day on which I have laid the foundation-stone to memorialise Mahatmaji's teachings in Queen's Gardens, I am laying the foundation-stone for an orphanage under a Muslim organization. I am not so good a beggar as the illustrious father of my interpreter (Pandit Govind Malaviya). I cannot beg lakhs and crores of rupees and build a big University. But may I be enabled to see that this stone that I have laid will have bricks over it and that an orphanage will be established.

At the place where I laid the bricks over Mahatmaji's ashes they sang a song which said that Iswar and Allah were the names of God. That song was sung by Mahatmaji thousands of times before he died. He did not pray as we pray, but very sincerely. Most sincerely he sang that Iswar and Allah are the names of God and he prayed that men may be blessed with good sense. He has prayed so often that we may perhaps be allowed to hope that his prayers will bear fruit, and perhaps we may also believe that that is why we do not quarrel with one another now. God seems to have turned His face towards us and I think we shall not quarrel with one another hereafter. Though I am Governor-General, let me tell you this—let governments quarrel but let us not quarrel. Let all the quarrels be confined to governments, and let men and women, brothers and sisters, love one another.

My best wishes and blessings to the children that are in the orphanage and all those who will hereafter come to the orphanage. If I send you some orphans when your orphanage is ready, do not refuse them admission! I thank all the members of the organization for giving me this privilege and this opportunity of speaking to you. It gives me great pleasure to see you all assembled here without distinction of caste or religion, and helping me to perform this function. May this grace of God continue for all time.

LXIV

OUR DESTINY UNDER DEMOCRACY

OUR beloved Malaviyaji built this great University with his own hand and left it behind him as a solid and useful memorial of which his people may justly be proud. This University may be called by a new name, but it will always be associated with the memory of the great man who built it through untiring effort and force of character. Kasi is a great place. The Ganga is a great river brought down from heaven itself, and this place of instruction for youth, situated on sacred ground and on the banks of the sacred river, should be the subject of the special care and concern of all of us, but mainly of the boys and girls of India. It belongs to them. It belongs to *all* of them. It is a national seat of culture in the truest sense. From time immemorial people have turned to Kasi for enlightenment and to the Ganga for purification, and Malaviyaji has helped to maintain that tradition unbroken by founding and establishing this great seat of learning here in Kasi. Let us in the years to come, strive to keep the lustre of the Kasi University undiminished.

Graduates, Kipling wrote some great verses, but a little poem which he wrote with an 'if' before the lines is one of the finest things ever written. It is

English poetry born out of the Song Celestial of India—

> 'If you can trust yourself when all men doubt you
> But make allowance for their doubting too:
> If being hated you do not give way to hating
> And yet, do not look too good nor talk too wise:
> If you can meet with triumph and disaster
> And treat those two impostors just the same:
> If you can talk to crowds and keep your virtue,
> Or walk with kings nor lose the common touch:
> If all men count with you but none too much:
> If you can fill the unforgiving
> Minute with sixty seconds worth of distance run:
> Yours is the earth
> And what is more you will be a man, my son!

I have not given the words exactly, but remember the substance of these lines, sons and daughters of Kasi, it is the same as was said in Sanskrit as the word of God centuries ago by Vyasa.

We have done well in attaining freedom and in showing a bloodless way of overcoming wrong. Yet let me touch on some unpleasant things. The processes involved in the attainment of freedom through the method of disobedience have left behind certain less desirable results along with the attainment of the object. These results, like the incidental harm done to the body when you take drugs for the cure of a serious disease, have to be corrected by convalescent discipline, by an effort and determination amounting to religious fervour and faith.

We have to throw off the habit of disregarding law and authority. The movement of non-co-operation involved the disregard of a law and authority that had been imposed by a foreign government and it has left behind an unhealthy habit. We have to take concerted and determined action to get rid of this tendency. We must restore the unqualified reverence for the State that was cultivated by our ancients, the reverence for law and discipline equivalent to the reverence for Dharma that was insisted upon in the old days. In fact we want a revival of feudal manners and chivalry, but in terms of modern democracy. Reverence for the State is different from attachment to a party. It is more akin to worship than to party loyalty. The State is different from the majority that rules. Reverence for the State is essential. Otherwise, India, vast and composed of heterogeneous elements, cannot grow strong.

Again, as a result of what was done during the days when we applied every means that was available in order to get rid of foreign domination, I fear that some of us have developed a very undesirable and widespread tendency to sabotage. Free and democratic India cannot function in security and prosper and attain strength, unless we totally eradicate this tendency to resort to methods of sabotage for the attainment of some immediate object.

A short-sighted hurry to attain an object, however good, may lead to great harm being done to the State and to society as a whole. It is absolutely necessary to eradicate the habits of destruction and sabotage that were incidental to the revolution. We should revive a reverence—I cannot use a lesser word—for roads, for bridges, for all means of communication and for the machinery of production, industrial and agricultural. We should feel as great an automatic and instinctive horror of sabotage as we do when we see any living thing being cruelly killed. Otherwise modern society cannot hope to thrive.

Respect for the means of communication and of production must reach the level of a religious reverence. We must rebuild this reverence.

Again, unless we guard ourselves and as a result of what happened during the struggle and thereafter, we are in danger of maintaining a frame of mind and an attitude akin to ill-will against nations other than ourselves, and communities other than our own. We have to make a supreme religious effort to maintain and strengthen what Gandhiji taught, namely. the doctrine of unilateral effort in the faith that love will conquer. As Kipling said, being hated, do not give way to hating. This great doctrine of love and trust, even where you do not get a favourable response at once, is the pivot on which the whole of Gandhiji's teachings rested. That was the fixed doctrine round which all his splendid activities turned. If we have no faith in this doctrine of the unilateral effort for love, we forswear all the homage we paid to Gandhiji when he was alive.

Do not be alarmed by delays and failures in our national effort. We have not yet had sufficient time. We have had to face complicated, unexpected and extraordinary difficulties. Remember that freedom from British rule does not mean freedom from world-opinion. Equal citizenship of the world is a noble status, but it carries with it great obligations. The national government of India today is of a quality of which we can be proud. Our Prime Minister's credit among the nations and statesmen of the world is very high, but that he may maintain that high credit and draw from it, we must be loyal and helpful to him. Our Prime Minister is the beloved of the nation. He and his colleagues have been trying scrupulously to be just and fair to everyone, to governments and communities, to industrialists and workers. No people have clearer consciences than those at the head of the Government of India to-day. They are just, they have faith in the destiny of India, and they are working hard.

As I have said elsewhere, industrialists should adjust their minds to the necessary uncertainties of democratic government. They must not expect in democracy that certainty of policy which can only be had under an authoritarian government. Policies in democracy depend upon the people's vote, which must be taken from time to time and cannot be made the subject of any permanent proposition. Workers must realise that the State is the real employer, whatever be the economic set-up in force. Unless wealth is produced, and continuously produced, no government, no management, no employer, can find the resources for distributing the means of securing a good life. Wealth and work form the foundation on which the happiness of the community can be built.

We should trust democracy to ensure just distribution and not look to the class struggle for salvation. Class struggle means hatred, a fouling of the atmosphere, unhappiness for all and submission to the crudest type of tyranny at the end of it. The delays of democracy are very much better than the violence and hatred of the class struggle; better for all concerned. No doubt there will always be class struggles going on, whether we like it or not. Where there is maladjustment, fever is a necessary concomitant. But we gain nothing by encouraging or adding to the fever that accompanies a diseased condition. Rather should we allay the fever, even while attending to the root cause. This is the democratic method as distinguished from that of accelerating the class struggle and endangering the national life.

Our credit as well as our prestige abroad is high and so is our position in the comity of nations. It is only among ourselves that readjustment is necessary for confidence and co-operation. Let us have faith in our destiny under democracy. All will soon be well. Graduates, I give you my best wishes, my own as well as those of the Government of India. May you be enabled to serve the Motherland diligently and with reverence.

LXV

RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE

OUR people have attained freedom, but freedom is a difficult thing to conceive unless we have a high degree of education. Just as it is difficult to see God, it is difficult to see freedom. Just as we pick up clay from the earth and make an image and see God in it, so have I been picked up from the earth and you have to see freedom through me. I am as far from the liberty that India has gained as the *Murthi* is from God. It is your devotion that can make clay into God. It is your devotion that can give meaning to the office which I hold.

It was in India that, before anybody else had preached it, our forefathers discovered that all denominations, ceremonies and forms of worship, reach God. People from all parts of the world, with all manner of books, scriptures and doctrines, have always been welcome in India. Those who came did not know as much as those who were here. When water is added to milk, the milk becomes adulterated, and Hinduism has been diluted by the ignorance of those who came. In defending the broadmindedness and the large doctrines of our forefathers, we have become narrow-minded and fanatical. This is as absurd as saying that in preserving beauty we must make it ugly. In defending and conserving the spirit of tolerance, we have become intolerant. Let us drop this faulty path. Nothing will save our tolerance except tolerance. I wish that men were wise enough to the extent that even if they are Hindus, they could go to mosques and pray. I have no difficulty in thinking of my God while sitting among Christians in a church or among Muslims in a mosque.

It is a great thing that we have got rid of British domination and won freedom. But it will be a still greater thing if we can get rid of intolerance and convert religion into that which it should be. Then we could revolutionize religious thought in the world. Kasi is a place with particularly sacred associations. All religions are attracted to it. If you see a mosque on the banks of the Ganga, do not be angry. It is but right that Islam should also come and settle down on the banks of the Ganga. The children of a mother do not look upon the new-born babe as an intruder, but as a brother. Ganga can bear any number of children.

India is a home for all those who believe in God and worship in any way they choose. Free India invites all religions. If you dive into ancient Indian history, you will find that the crudest forms of religious faith and worship have been absorbed into Hinduism. Our forefathers absorbed them in such a way that they made them their own. Why should we stop that process at the present time? On the contrary, we must continue that process. The object of your association is the object for which I live. My best wishes to you all.

LXVI

MESSAGE OF THE GITA

THE fathers of Hindu religious thought approached their subject in a scientific spirit. They treated religion as a whole as a search for truth and not as a matter of dogma. So, from time immemorial, although various hypotheses were put forward, there was no intolerance of differences. Religion with us has always continued to be rather a science of the spirit than a body of doctrine. Naturally, therefore, every variety of approach to the great mystery is not only permitted in the Hindu religion, but is treated with respect, provided always that the approach is in a spirit of reverence. Various forms of elucidation have been adopted by the different Vedantic schools of thought, but all of them recommend the same code of conduct. All the schools of Vedanta, and perhaps all religions, lead to the same ethic. The Gita sets out this way of life. It applies to all good men, whatever their religious denomination. The way of life taught in the Gita is quite consistent with requirements of the modern world.

According to the Gita, the activities of the world must go on. It does not teach that salvation consists in retiring from work. We should look upon the tasks which appertain to us either by being specially entrusted with them, or by reason of our place in society, as our duty, and we should perform them with the same diligence and skill which is shown by people who work for selfish ends, but inwardly maintaining a spirit of unselfishness and detachment. Yoga is the name given to that state of mind which enables a man to live a dedicated life while engaged in worldly affairs. Enlightenment and devotion are necessary to enable a man to live this life.

It is easy to be attentive and to live a laborious life when we are moved by selfishness. But what the Gita wants of us is that we should be diligent and skilful, although the good results are for society at large and not for our own advantage, and that we should cultivate an unselfish and detached attitude even while we are most busily engaged in material activities. The good man always bears in mind that within him, as in every object in the world, dwells the supreme soul. He is constantly at prayer to keep his mind free from lust, anger and personal desire. He looks upon all work as noble which is necessary for the maintenance and welfare of society.

A good man regulates his work, food, recreation and pleasure. He does not lose heart at the thought of difficulties, and he maintains courage and equanimity when succeeding or losing, because he leaves results in the hands of God.

Even a little effort in this direction is good. There is no waste or danger, even if we fail. It is not like the rule of medicine in respect of various drugs, where it is laid down that if we do not follow prescribed rules of diet, the medicine may not only fail to do good, but may even do harm.

What we believe of science, what we believe of religion and what we believe of statecraft, should all be in harmony with one another. Modern science has revealed that the universe is evolved by the gradual unfoldment of the power lodged in the primordial substance. The Hindu religion is entirely consistent with this revelation of science.

Just as Vedanta is fully consistent with the awe and beauty of the universe as it is being more and more revealed by science, the way of life preached in the Gita is fully consistent with progressive views of citizenship and the conditions of the Welfare State.

Planned economy and co-operative life in place of the competitive and selfish motive, is modern economy. This cannot be effectively achieved if it depends on mere external authority, however powerful. We must have a generally accepted culture which works as a law from within, to assist the law imposed from without. Unless we have the help of culture, mere material planning culminates in fraud and corruption.

The Vedantic culture is pre-eminently fitted for a planned, co-operative community-life. wherein everyone must work according to capacity and everyone should get according to his need. Work should be allotted to individuals as well as to groups, in accordance with the demands of the general interest. If we desire that society should control individual life so as to produce the general welfare, we must not depend only on the spy and the policemen. We must build up a spiritual life and a culture which makes joy out of the discharge of duty and acts as a law from within, making the execution of state-imposed laws easy. We have in the Gita a teaching which can serve as the spiritual and cultural foundation for a just economy of life. Vedantic thought is the root of Indian culture. The root is still living. The source is not yet decayed. The lives of the rich and the poor, of the leisured classes, as well as of the peasants and labourers, of Hindus as well as of those belonging to other religions living in India, are all responsive to the philosophy of the Gita. The fragrance of Vedanta appeals to all, illiterate as well as learned.

Work without the aim of personal profit and with an eye only to the welfare of the community, is the way of life taught in the Gita. It lays emphasis on the equal dignity and sacredness of all work that falls to one's lot. Indeed, the Gita lays down the socialist doctrine in terms of religion and treats work, if done in the right spirit, as worship.

LXVII

CHILDREN

MR. KHER, Premier of Bombay, has said that I am a lover of children. That is like saying that a tree has leaves. Just as no tree can grow without leaves, so is there no man who does not love children. Men cannot grow without children, and like the leaves of a tree, all children are the same.

Men try to bring up children, but really God is bringing them up. The more the children, the better the chances of bringing a good world into existence. If we have no children, or if we limit the number of our children, or if we dislike them, we dry up the fountain of love in the hearts and the tree itself will wither away.

Some people lay emphasis on discipline, some on work, others on freedom. The best way to educate children is through joy. It is only through joy we can get real discipline. It is only through joy that we can get real work; it is only through joy that freedom has any use. Unless you make children laugh, you cannot educate them. A tree cannot live, or leaves grow, unless sunlight falls on them. Joy is, what is sunlight to plants. You may employ a large number of private tutors, and you may nourish the root of a tree with water, but without joy and sunlight the child cannot grow and the tree cannot grow.

If you want children to grow well, try and give them as much joy as possible. Merely giving so-called education, is like putting manure at the roots of a tree which is without sunlight. Nature is strong, and in spite of all our mistakes, children grow well. The sun is strong, the rain is plentiful and in spite of the goats the forests grow. So, in spite of the errors of parents and teachers, children flourish.

The Balkan-ji-Bari is a movement, rather than an organization. This children's movement will have to have its roots in the home and in the locality. Organization plays its part, but Balkan-ji-Bari is a method of education through joy and parents and teachers should be made to realize this. The organization exists to give the idea to teachers and parents. We should have a small garden in each street and a big garden in the town and arrangements should be made to enable children to play and find joy in both of them. If you have ladders there, make them suitable for children's legs. If you have benches there. make them low enough for children. If you have ponds, they should be just deep enough for children to play in. There should be people there to look after the children. It is possible that parents should not be allowed to go there, for they generally prevent children from playing freely. Teachers should be kept a mile away. People like me should never be asked to go there, for they will be expected to make long speeches.

LXVIII

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

YOU have not raised very difficult points—not half so difficult as the commercial and industrial people raise when they meet a person like me. You say you are disappointed that the press is not specifically mentioned in the Constitution that is being framed, but special mention is not legally necessary. Let me confirm the explanation given on the floor of the Assembly that freedom of expression includes the right of the press. This is a correct judicial position. There is also the lawyer's theory that if you particularise one or two items in a general proposition you lower the value of the general statement. Judges and lawyers will confirm that if you proceed to particularisation, the full meaning of the general statement will be lost but the interpreters of the Constitution would exclude other particular things not mentioned.

You say you will be quite content if you in India have the freedom which is enjoyed by the press in England. But the press in India enjoys the same rights as are possessed by the press in England. In England the press is free, just as free as the press is here and no more, so I do not think that you can justifiably complain in regard to this matter. I claim that there is no distinction between the position of the press in England and the position of the press here. I claim that if a jury composed of pressmen of the world were to take half a dozen issues of newspapers in India of any date haphazardly, they would give the verdict that the press here is enjoying thorough-going freedom. I cannot imagine what greater freedom you can ask for. I have been reading fairly regularly, both for my instruction and amusement, issues of Bombay journals. It is astonishing to see how free is the press in Bombay. In our country the courts have not been very rigorous in enforcing the law in libel cases. If half the things written in our press appeared in an English newspaper, terrible damages would be awarded by the jury. But I do not envy the state of things in England in this respect. It is better not to bother about libel. Our people are not misled by such things. Therefore no harm is done by them.

I saw both in Bombay and Poona that the people felt great joy at seeing a flesh and blood Indian Governor-General moving about among them. The children were the most jubilant. It seemed to me that they were delighted that what they saw so vividly, a Governor-General of their own going about, was not a dream, but an actual fact. That set me thinking. Perhaps they have an intuitive feeling that in their time things will really improve, whatever disappointments you may be having now and however impatient you may be. That is why they felt instinctively jubilant at the sight of the symbol of our newly won Independence. I want you also to think like them and to have confidence that things will soon improve.

Presssmen are used to my habit of making forecasts and I do not think you believe me to be a poor astrologer. I assure you that most of the present political discontents and difficulties which we (the Government) are facing, will soon disappear. I do *not* say *all*. I only say *most* of our difficulties. A few must remain, otherwise we cannot enjoy the dynamic conditions which life must inherently follow.

You will all remember that I told your colleagues in Madras some time ago that they should look upon journalism not as a profession or occupation, but as a fine art. Unfortunately the meaning of my "fine art" appeal was a little blurred by numerous light comments. I do not complain. Let us laugh. The humorous column is a very good thing. I like it immensely. But it is not easy to make good jokes and only too easy to make poor ones. Now a poor joke can dismember wisdom, but a good joke does no harm. Poor jokes can indeed do a lot of harm. I respect what I said to your colleagues in Madras. Look upon your work with the eyes of an artist. In the measure in which our country produces beautiful things hereafter, in that measure alone will our country be great.

LXIX

CITIZENSHIP

I REMEMBER what a great and exciting occasion it was to me as a young man in 1897. I received my degree as Bachalor of Arts. In spite of the many changes that have come about in our lives in general and in India in particular, I do not believe that the young men receiving degrees to-day are any less excited about it than they were over fifty years ago. Aspiration and hope and the generous impulses of youth are just the same now as they were then. I can guess how all your young minds are charged with noble ambitions. May God bless you and give you every chance.

Remember that the glory is in the battle and that results do not count. I do not repeat empty words. I speak as a man who has gone through many trials, defeats as well as successes, and I assure you results really do not matter. It is the way in which you struggle that matters. God has manifestly given all of us in India a chance, and we should prove how good we are capable of being. We are children of noble ancestors and there is a great deal in heredity. India has come into its own at a rather bad time in the history of world morality. Had we eliminated foreign caretaking some twenty-five years ago, we should have fared much better. But we cannot get everything done just as we would like and so we must make the best of it. Our freedom has been born when the world has in many respects greatly deteriorated, and this is a great handicap for us who have to start now.

At no time was there in our country such serious heart-searching as is agitating all circles, high and low, at the present moment as to the need for reinforcing the sense of values, moral and spiritual. Never was it more acutely realized that no effort to improve conditions through laws or through administrative direction, can bear fruit, unless the moral sense of the intelligentsia is quickened.

Precepts lose all meanings if repeated too often The statements of leaders, and their appeals from public platforms are just diagnoses and do not act as remedies for the sickness diagnosed. It is perfectly clear, that we must make the quickening of the moral sense a definite part of our educational system, even though this may seem a slow approach to the problem. And this, not by including in the curricula of schools and colleges, lectures and studies on the subject of morality, but by organizing such activities and such discipline as will infuse, in the minds of our young men and women, a reverence for truth and good and an automatic revulsion from falsehood and evil. An ounce of practice is worth a pound of theory. It follows that in schools and colleges, we should have men and women whose daily lives inspire and infuse enlightened thought and action in the impressionable minds of the boys and girls who are brought in contact with them. As much care and caution should be taken over the habits of thought and action of the persons recruited for holding teachers' and tutors' posts and other position of authority in educational institutions, as over their expert qualifications in the realms of knowledge.

The part played by personal contact is great in good as well as in evil. We are imitative by nature. Not only in the early and impressionable years but throughout life, we automatically copy the ways of those we admire. Therefore, a great deal of improvement is possible, if responsibility for an all-round moulding of character and behaviour is definitely undertaken by those who are placed in positions of authority and influence. This is the only way and not any set instruction.

In the old days, a sense of values was automatically conserved by widespread beliefs that they may be described succinctly by the term 'Religion.' But in modern times, when so much has been irretrievably done rightly or wrongly to undo the work of ages in the matter of religion, we have to find new instruments for shaping the minds of men and women so that they may develop attitudes that enable them to live and act to the greatest benefit of one another. The grand secret of social happiness lies in the cultivation of sympathy and unselfishness as an automatic reaction and attitude on the part of men and women on all occasions.

We should acquire the habit of abhorring unsocial behaviour. Lying, stealing, deceiving, cruelty and indulgence in animal appetites, should become as disgusting as filth or unclean food. The need for cleanliness of mind is as great as, if not greater than, physical sanitation, and we must aim at spreading this habit of cleanliness of mind as a part of enlightened statecraft, as essential as that of physical public hygiene which is the concern of Health Ministers.

Bureaucratic rule under a foreign power having been liquidated, we each of us have now to find and fulfil our own responsibility in everything. The need for dynamic patriotism is not over with the attainment of national freedom. But dynamic patriotism no longer consists in irrelevant adherence to past dislikes and inhibitions, but in the crusading spirit of purging our selfishness, and in making men and women constantly keep before their minds the welfare of the State as till recently they kept the elimination of foreign rule.

Citizenship is not merely a right arising out of birth and domicile. It is a culture developed by training and right emotional direction. Without it, freedom and democracy would be chaos. What I call the culture of citizenship is not to be confounded with nationalism. It is a pattern of individual conduct which alone can help democracy to produce social happiness.

INDEX

Abraham 22
Ajanta 168
Ajatasatru 47
Akbar 168
Alice in Wonderland 115
Aligarh University 57
Alladin 156
Amrit 35
Arya Samajists 166
Ashtavadhanam 87
Asoka 5, 13
Assamese 15
Aswattha 25
August 15, 1947. 30, 105, 141, 178, 179
Ayurveda 50, 51
Balkan-ji-Bari 201
Bangabasi 176
Bapu 47, 48
Bengal 68, 69, 70, 71, 80
Bharati, Subramania 138, 139
Bharat Mata 43, 92
Bhavnagar, Maharaja of 161
Biswas, Justice 6
Brahma Samaj 166
Buddha, Lord 168
Campbell Hospital 62
Chakra (wheel) 4, 5
Charka 13
Christianity 164
Class struggle 192, 193
Clive, Lord 86
College, Aligarh 57
Communalism 134
Constituent Assembly 1
Constitution, Indian 202
Czechoslovakia 180
Dalhousie, Lord 86
Das, Deshbandhu C. R. 35, 76, 77, 78
Dasserah 23
Dayanand Saraswati, Swami 163, 164, 165, 166
Deepavali 17
Democracy 10, 179, 180, 181, 190, 192, 193
Dev, Sri Chaitanya 38
Doon School 151, 152
Durga 25
Education 58, 85
    Women's 113
Fast (Gandhiji's) 39, 41, 42
Fatehpur Sikri 168
Gandhiji 4, 5, 9, 11, 13, 18, 27, 39, 40, 41, 42, 46, 52, 73, 84, 92, 102, 108, 116, 118, 143, 145, 191
Gandhi, Mahatma (see Gandhiji) 106, 107, 110 119, 154, 157
Ganga 47, 188, 195
Gauri 66
Ghose, Girish Chandra 60, 61
Gita 2, 58, 108, 196, 197, 198, 199
Government of India Act of 1935 1
Governor-General 69, 70, 86, 89, 90, 92, 93, 143, 160, 161, 186, 203
Great War 6
Gwalior 159
Harijan 110
Himalayas 66
Hindi 15, 16, 95
Hindi Prachar Samiti 97
Hinduism 165, 166, 194, 195

Hindustani 55, 56, 94, 95, 96
Hyderabad 140, 141, 142, 143
Id 21, 22, 23
Imam, Hassan 76
Independence, 1, 2, 83
Indian Army 31
Indian Union, President of 93
Islam 164
Iswara 44, 186
Iyengar, Bhashyam 110
"Jai Hind" 148
Jamuna 43, 47
Janaka 93
Journalism 125, 126, 204
Journalist 125, 126
Kalidas 61
Kali-mata 12
Kalimpong 64, 66
Kanarese 15
Kannada 95
Kasi 188, 189, 195
Kasi University 188
Kathiawar 154
Kher 200
Kipling 188, 191
Koran 58
Krishna (Sri) 45, 157, 168
Kumbhakarna 111
Lakshmi 25
Lakshmi Puja 22
Language, National 56
Legislative Assembly 107, 109, 118, 125, 149
Loyola College 116
Madras, Governor of 161
Mahabharata 58, 121
Maharaja's College 90
Mahatmaji (see Gandhiji) 36, 43, 44, 45, 65, 88, 102, 186
Malaviyaji (Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya) 76, 188
Malaviya, Pandit Govind 186
Malayalam 15
Mantra 143
Marathi 15, 16
Martyn 151, 152
Maulana (Abul Kalam Azad) 43, 167
Mira 168
Mir Kasim 61
Moharrum 17
Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms 76
Mysore 86, 89, 90
Mysore, Maharaja of 85, 89, 90
Namam 110, 111
Namaskar 80
"Namaste" 148
Nataraja 12, 168
Nehru, Pandit Jawaharlal 8, 46
Nizam 141, 142
Nursery Schools 59
Oriya 15
Pahar 66
Paramahamsa, Ramakrishna 52, 165
Paramountcy, lapse of 143
Parliament, Indian 141
Partition 83
Parvati 25, 66
Patel, Sardar Vallabhbhai 45, 154
Patriotism 86
Poison-Swallower (Shiva) 36
Pratimas 25
Press 202, 203
Prime Minister 2, 81, 148, 191

Princes, Indian 158, 159, 161, 162
Punjab 170, 171
Purnima 60
Queen's Gardens 186
'Quit India' 152
Rajpramukh 160, 161
Ramayana 43, 58, 121, 171
Ram, Sri 44, 93, 168, 171
Rao, Sampatgiri 94
Rashtrabhasha 55
Ray, Acharya 78
Rector 29, 30
Republic, Soviet 104
Rishi 21, 30, 77, 165
Saivites 111
Sanatanist 110
Sannyasi 77
Saraswati 13, 25, 113
Sarojini Naidu, 43
Saurashtra 154, 156, 157, 161, 162
Security Council 141
Shahjahan 168
Shakespeare 60, 121
Shakti 17
Shiva 36, 168
Singh, Sardar Sant 134, 135
Siraj-ud-dulla 61
Socrates 44
Song Celestial of India 189
Soordas 168
South Africa 45
Speaker 106, 108, 109
Standstill Agreement 141
State Service 32
Stratford-on-Avon 60
Swaraj 35
Taj Mahal 8, 168
Takli 109
Tamil 15, 16
Tamil Nad 138
Tapasya 67
Telugu 15, 16
Tennyson 21
Travancore 101
Tulsi 25
Tyagaraja 168
University of Calcutta 182
University Training Corps 32
U. N. O. 140, 141
Upanishad 21, 165
Urdu 15, 16, 95
Vaishnavites 111
Valmiki 43, 61
Vedanta 196, 198, 199
Vedas 165
Vibhuti 110, 111
Vijaya Dasami 18
Vivekananda, Swami 52
Vyasa, Veda 61, 189
Welfare State 198
Wellesley, Lord 86
Y. M. C. A. 132, 133
Yoga 197
Yudhishthira 146

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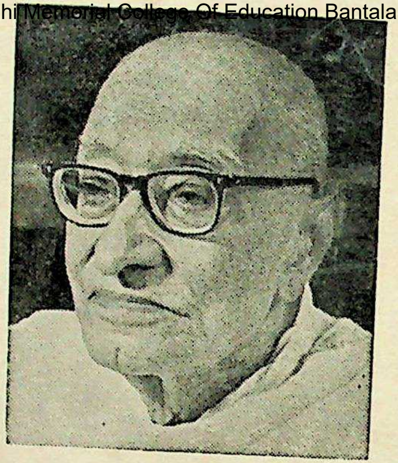

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